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also the goods of his children, either during his life or after his death. Even one of the uncle's wives might be appropriated. At the wedding of a man's child, his sister's children may help themselves to the presents. The brother's children must show respect (*fakaapaapa*) to the sister's children. The institution of *fahu* is a one-sided, non-reciprocal affair. The victims never have a chance to retaliate, but they exercise similar privilege towards their own mother's brother and his offspring. Towards one's *fahu* only respect and acquiescence must be shown. To appropriate the property of the *fahu* would be a serious breach of custom.

One chiefly informant remarked to me that he was lucky in having no closely related *fahu*, as he had no sister. He had, however, female cousins, whose children were *fahu* to him to a certain extent, but not like a real or great *fahu*. One such remote *fahu* visited this chief while I was with him, his father's brother's daughter's daughter. She did not have the privilege of a near *fahu* but must ask his permission before taking his property.

Radcliffe-Brown (48, pp. 543, 553, 550) records for Tonga that

> . . . the sister's son is permitted to take many liberties with his mother's brother, and to take any of his uncle's possessions that he may desire. And there also we find the custom that, when the uncle makes a sacrifice, the sister's son takes away the sacred portion offered to the gods, and may eat it.
>
> . . . The daughter's son must be honoured by his grandfather. He is "a chief" to him. He may take his grandfather's property, and he may take away the offering that his grandfather makes to the gods at a kava ceremony. The mother's father and the mother's brother are the objects of very similar behaviour patterns, of which the outstanding feature is the indulgence on the one side and the liberty permitted on the other.

The daughter's son may intervene in the sacrificial ritual in the same way as the sister's son, the behavior between the mother's father and the daughter's son being much the same as between the mother's brother and the sister's son.

Liberties and jocular remarks may be indulged in with relatives through one's mother's brother, except where the brother-sister tapu interferes. Such liberties and remarks cannot be reciprocated, for the very reason that respect towards the father and his relatives is definitely enjoined, and especially towards the father's sister (*mehekitanga*) and her offspring.

Modern Tongan dictionaries describe the *fahu* as "one that is above the law," and the verb *fakafahufahu* as "to act as an outlaw." In actual practice the *fahu* (or *ilamutu*, to use the term of relationship) often did appropriate the property of his mother's brother (*tuasina*), who as a rule did not protest. At the kava ceremony the *fahu* ate the relish presented to his mother's brother. The grandchildren, also referred to as *fahu*, had the same privilege (15, p. 30).

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The Tui Tonga greeted the great *fahu* (the Tamaha) by placing her foot on his head or by touching his nose to her foot. In the presence of any of his *fahu* he must abstain from eating (65, p. li). He greeted the *kaingaofi* with the nose kiss. The matapule kissed his foot. The *kainanga-fonua* suffered the Tui Tonga's foot to rest on their head. This was supposed to cure those of this class who were sick. The *tamaioeiki* were too low to touch the Tui Tonga. If sick, they might be cured by having the abdomen of the afflicted one rubbed with the bowl in which the Tui Tonga washed his hands.

CEREMONIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE TUI TONGA

That the Tui Tonga was regarded as a true god by his subjects seems doubtful. That he was regarded as of semi-divine nature is certain, for the Tongan belief is that he was of semi-celestial origin, the progenitor of his line being the sky god Tangaloa Eitumatupua. That he was a god living upon earth all of my informants denied. Collocott, however, records (16, p. 79) a lament or funeral piece for a deceased Tui Tonga, in which he is called a god.

My informants knew of no worship of the Tui Tonga after death, but only of worship of the gods proper. The priest Kautai scoffed at the idea of the Tui Tonga being either a priest or a god. He characterized him as the highest male chief and hence the most sacred male of the country.

Wilson (66), however, states that on occasion, certain deities were represented by certain chiefs; although the Tui Tonga is not specifically mentioned, he may be referred to in connection with either the deity Pulotu Katoa or the deity Fatafehi (whom I have failed to identify). The deity Taliai Tupou was connected with the Tui Kanokupolu. Wilson's statement follows (op. cit., pp. 276, 277):

> Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their peculiar patron. Talliataboo [Taliai Tupou] is the god of Aheefo [Hihifo], which being at present the most powerful, he is accounted a great warrior. Futtafäihe [Fatafehi] presides over Mooa [Mua] and Doobludha [Pulotu], Cartow [Katoa] over the district of Ahoge [Hahake]; each of which deities are on certain occasions represented by the several chiefs of those districts.

Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 78, 79) states that high respect and veneration for the Tui Tonga were shown by the following observances: (a) *inasi* ceremony: offering to him of first fruits, about October; (b) peculiarity of his marriage ceremony; (c) peculiarity of his burial ceremony; (d) peculiarity of mourning for his decease; (e) non-circumcision, unless he went to other islands for the operation; (f) not tattooed; (g) peculiarities of speech, used in regard to the Tui Tonga.

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cide to make the *pongipongi*, the chief Momotu is sent at once to notify the other lineage. If decision is made by the Haa Ngata Motua, it is not necessary for the Haa Havea to bring gifts, though they will be present in court when the Haa Ngata Motua appear before the Tui Kanokupolu. The death of any of the king's relatives is an occasion for the *pongipongi*, though not the only one. It may take place several times a year. For the Haa Ngata Motua, Ata sets the time. To make the presentation to the Tui Kanokupolu before three o'clock in the afternoon is an offense for which Ata will be blamed. The Tui Kanokupolu is apt to make some caustic remarks, and all of the Haa Ngata Motua must seek pardon (*hu*) from the Tui Kanokupolu, when each chief puts on a huge *taovala* mat reaching up his back and over his head as a sign of humility. He also dons a necklace of Tahitian chestnut leaves and sits like a matapule before the Tui Kanokupolu. The posture thus assumed is cross-legged, with the hands clasped and the two index fingers resting together and pointing forward. The head must be bowed so that the supplicant does not look at the ruler. Motuapuaka, the Tui Kanokupolu's matapule, then makes intercession for the offenders. The matapules of the offending Haa Ngata Motua sit behind the offending chiefs and cannot make intercession for their masters.

When the *pongipongi* is made at the proper time, Motuapuaka requests the presenting chiefs to show their gifts. The covers of the baskets of food are lifted by the commoners who have carried them in for the chiefs. In addition to the Haa Ngata Motua or Haa Havea chiefs who are making the presentation, all of the chiefs of the Tui Kanokupolu's court are supposed to be present.

Similar presentations of food, also called *pongipongi*, are said to have been made anciently to the Tui Tonga.

A ceremony in which the proper representatives of chiefly families present *kie* mats to a great chief or to the king is called *tookie*. It is held on occasions such as deaths, marriages, or great feasts. The term *tookie* might refer also to the division of such *kie* gifts among the members of the family of the one to whom they were presented. The general making of presents to a chief is called *tukufatongia*.

Although I was not present at any presentation of food to the Tui Kanokupolu, I saw in 1920 processions of people bringing food to the house of Mr. Watkin, President of the Free Church, who was temporarily staying at the house of the Free Church minister in the village of Pangai, Lifuka Island. On October 4, thirty to forty people, mostly women, bearing vegetables and fruits assembled at the house of the mayor of Pangai. When all were assembled, they formed a procession, the women wearing great *taovala* mats as signs of respect and humility, and several pairs of men at the end of the line bearing bunches of coconuts and bananas slung from poles on

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chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.] 538

Oh! My mind is unsettled, as the wind, and not steady. The wonderment of it! To leave the land in charge of a fool. What is it that will be timely (best) for the chiefs and the land? They run away and live, but I stay and die, because it is a mischievous land. What will they do when they drive their enemies to Hihifo and the people arise and throw spears, as they do at fish when caught in a net drive? [Mumui speaking.] 539

Oh! Then we will see the true friends. I thought that I was of some use, that I was familiar with difficulties, and that war was my food. But you do not want me, so I will sit down (no longer rule). [Mumui speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

Perhaps I have sinned. Perhaps I have crept to a great chief. Oh, it is the fruit of living with a bad ruler (*hau*). Go, cheat and coward, and sit in the high place of the chief (referring to the kava ring), while I remain with those that serve; while I bear the brunt of your ill-doing. Alas! The joining of the strong hibiscus (chief) with the weak banana stalk (commoner). And is that the reason for the wish that I should come to punishment? If I had crept to your house, or if I had been rude to the Tui Tonga, or to the Moheofo (chief wife of the Tui Tonga), then it would have been right to punish me. When was I thus? And call it clever, and punish me that trusted to Lolopaongo (a high chief). "Why they are fetching men to fight in Hahake, to fight you." [Poet speaking.]

Angry be you. I will be weak. Why Tongatabu has already been left, as a land of women. Alas! my lonely grief. You consider what is best to be done, as the chiefs are angry. Do anything that is right. "A king but blind." [Poet speaking.]

There, bring the stars for Mumui, the Alotolu (part of the constellation Orion) and the Toloa (Duck, the Southern Cross), and all shining things; make afraid the wind and the breezes, because of Mumui. Bring Ongomalie (reef) and all the (other) reefs, and the thunder from the sky. The voyagers have left. Fear is at the back of the "regiments." Mumui is lord over all. Is there anything like this chief, or in keeping with his great dark mind? My trusting to him was of no use, and my kindness to him was not appreciated. Oh! do not speak again. Exile me to Toku Island. I love the ruler [Mumui], but it will be well for me to go as I am of no service. Stay (good-bye), Tongatabu. [Poet speaking.]

KAVA DRINKING

The traditional first use of kava in a drink is assigned to the reign of the tenth Tui Tonga and to the island of Eueiki, near Tongatabu, and an expression is attributed to this occasion, when the Tui Tonga's matapule said to the Eueiki people, "Fakaua ki Manuka hotau taumafa kava" (Have twice unto Manuka our kava drinking). Whether the Manuka referred to is the place in Tongatabu, or the one in Samoa is not clear. If the reference is to Tongatabu, Manuka may be the polite name for the Tui Tonga himself, in whose honor the people were enjoined to drink twice. 276 173

The drinking of kava is exceedingly common in Tonga to-day, reported to be more common than in heathen times. Aside from casual or social occasions, kava was imbibed at all ceremonies, including marriages and funerals. Installation in office or succession to title was legalized in the kava circle by the calling of the new title when the kava was served to 276 574 [585] [764] [428]

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the new appointee. This form of ceremonial installation (*fakanofo*) prevailed from the Tui Tonga down to the lowest matapule. When a god became incarnate in a priest, the kava circle was formed with the priest presiding. Matters to be discussed with the king or a high chief were broached at the king's kava circle, which comprised the principal chiefs attendant at his court. Some executions took place within the circle (26, p. 67).

The formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the visualization of the rank of the participants through the seating and through the order of serving.

With one or two exceptions, no chief might sit in the formal kava circle without an attendant matapule. When the Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, or Tui Kanokupolu presided at a kava circle, he was flanked by two matapule. In the formal kava circle only titled persons may sit; the president of such a circle seems always to have been the title-holder of highest rank. With the exception of the Tamaha and perhaps the Female Tui Tonga, who were title holders, women seem not to have presided in kava circles except at marriages.

The formal circle, therefore, comprises the assemblage of the representatives of the ancestors, the first holders of the titles. The first holders of the titles of Tui Tonga, of matapule Lauaki, of Tui Pelehake, and of Tui Loloko, were the putative sons of a god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua; the original holders of all other titles were the offspring of mortals. There seems, however, to have been a certain equating of gods and ancestors, for a priest possessed by a god presided as would the king. Moreover the Tui Kanokupolu is called Taliai Tupou, the name of his patron god. I suspect that the title holders in the kava circle impersonate the ancestral first holders of titles and perhaps are even regarded as their temporary incarnations. (For example, Lauaki is called Maliepo, the name of his ancestor who descended from heaven.) This probability is strengthened by the fact that whenever a chief is accompanied by his matapule, formal conduct is required of him.

The following terms refer to the kava ceremony:

Alofi. The kava circle.

Apaapa. The alofi or circle of the Tui Tonga's kava party; the masters of ceremonies in a kava party, that is, the matapules who sit on each side of the chief who presides in the kava party; to sit next to the chief in the kava party.

Faikava. Literally, to do kava, a kava party.

Fakamatua. A movement from one sitting posture to another. For example, if a group of men in a kava circle are sitting tailor fashion (*fakataane*) so close together that their knees are touching, and others come to join them, the president may say "Fakamatua", at which every one turns to the right obliquely, thus making room for the new arrivals.

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On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *kaihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class.

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

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were a stranger to him, only by the way she wore her hair. If she were not a married woman, but one who was no longer a virgin, there would be no means of distinguishing her from a married woman by her appearance; only a personal knowledge of the facts would give the man a right to speak to her as an unmarried girl. 521 834 302

A girl, when going out into unfrequented places, providing she should be a virgin, took a child along as a chaperon. This child, of either sex, might be a brother or sister or a neighbor's child. The protection was based upon the fear of scandal, as the child could not be expected to keep a secret. 834 857 858

Among the chiefly people a virgin was called *taahine*, or more specifically, *taupoou*. Among common people a virgin was called *finemui*. A chiefly girl, when she ceased to be a virgin, was still called *taahine* but not *taupoou*. The daughter of a high matapule might also be called a *taupoou* and also bore the name *taahine*. The term *taupoou* was not applied to only the oldest virgin in a family, but to any and all virgins in the family. A commoner girl no longer a virgin was called *finemotua*. 836 565

If a young man refrained from cohabiting with women previous to his marriage, he was not highly desirable among the unmarried girls. But if a young man was reputed to have a wide sexual experience previous to marriage, regardless of his physical attractions or lack of them, he was held in high estimation by old and young and was especially admired by young unmarried women. Girls were warned to keep away from him, intimately, but taught to admire him. Such a man was said to be wise and was expected to treat his bride with more consideration during the first nights of married life. 836 58 554

Marriage Ceremonies

The marriage ceremony is to-day called *katoanga mali* (*katoanga*, festival; *mali*, English "marry"). 585

The ceremony was divided into two parts: the first taking place before and immediately after cohabitation; the second, when the first born child was sufficiently strong to be moved, if necessary, from one village to another (generally when it was about two months old).

This second part of the ceremony was always held at the home of the man's father, who designated the time. The child remained at the house of his mother's people during the entire performance, taking no part in it whatsoever. In this respect the affair seems to be complimentary to the parents rather than strictly in honor of the child itself.

The following is a description of the first ceremony, the marriage proper:

Preceding the festival, a large representation of relatives of both the bridegroom and the bride assembled at the village or community where the bridegroom's father resided. The young man took up his temporary residence with his father, if not already

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there. The prospective bride took up her temporary residence at a house specially set up by, or donated to the use of, her people. If she chanced to dwell in the same community as the bridegroom's father, no special temporary abode would, of course, be required.

Both bride and bridegroom were presented with the detergent candlenut (*tuitui*) and tapa towels (*kelo*) some days previous to marriage, so that they might prepare themselves for one another, the length of time depending on when the guests were to arrive. These things might or might not be used and some were given away afterwards to relatives.

Preceding the day of the beginning of the ceremony, the fathers of the bride and groom each assembled a large gift, including tapa, mats, and oil. The particular father notified all his relatives and all his wife's relatives of the coming ceremony and asked for contributions. He did not himself contribute unless the poorness of the lot of gifts made it seem necessary.

On the morning when the ceremony began, the principals prepared for the occasion, each at his or her father's place of residence. Each was attended by a man and a woman, both called *fae* (mother), and related to each through his or her mother. The person's own mother never acted as *fae* in marriage ceremonies. Each family had a related family whose members were to act as *fae* when occasion demanded. The family acting as *fae* called the family to which it acted *eiki*, and in return was called *tua*.

The *fae* bathed the bride and bridegroom, anointed them with coconut oil from head to foot, and clothed them with many mats, whose number and fineness of quality depended upon the rank of the families represented. Often as many as ten mats were wrapped about the waist.

The complete name of the "mother" was *fae eveva* (mother to walk for pleasure). When ready, the bride waited for the bridegroom at her father's house. The two *fae* stood at her sides, the male *fae* at her right hand and the female *fae* at her left. Each had a coconut leaf basket in which there was a quantity of *fetaaki* (unprinted tapa) and a gourd of oil. Every few minutes the *fae* would anoint the bride's arms, neck, face, and exposed parts of her legs with the oil, while all the spectators would shout, "Tue! tue!" (to shout, to triumph over).

When the bridegroom was ready, he started out toward the bride's house, walking slowly, his *fae* accompanying him, arranged as were those of the bride. They also were equipped with *fetaaki* and oil and stopped the bridegroom about every ten steps to anoint him. Then the crowd following would shout as above. Behind him followed his people in procession carrying the gifts of foods and manufactured articles gathered together by his people.

When the bridegroom and his people arrived at the place where the bride and her people waited, the gifts from the groom's relatives were presented to the bride's, being deposited before the house in two lines running parallel to the house front. The line closer to the house consisted of the manufactured articles (*koloa*) such as tapa and mats, furnished by the women of the bridegroom's people. The outer line consisted of oven (food) gifts and kava called *ngaue* (work), furnished by the men of the bridegroom's people.

After the presentation of gifts everyone repaired to the bridegroom's house. The processional order was: (1) the bridegroom and bride accompanied by the four *fae*; (2) carriers of the presents from the bride's people to the bridegroom's people, the *koloa* preceding the *ngaue*; (3) relatives of bridegroom and bride not occupied in carrying the presents, surrounded and followed by the crowd of friends and spectators. When the procession reached the bridegroom's house, the presents from the bride's people were placed before the house in the same order as were the bridegroom's presents at the woman's house.

(On August 12, 1920, while passing along a Nukualofa street about 3 p. m. I saw approaching a procession of people bearing mats and tapa. Many had the articles

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wrapped about their waists so that their arms were held far out from their sides. Six men carried a huge bundle of tapa and mats by means of three long poles. Eight women carried a huge mat, probably 12 feet wide and 40 feet long. The procession moved slowly and was bound to the house of George Kupu, who was married the day before.)

Then a kava circle composed of relatives was formed, the bridegroom presiding, the bride seated at his left, each of them seated upon the lap of either of their two officiating *fae*, the bride usually sitting on the lap of her male *fae*.

Only one bowl of kava was served. Following that came the distribution of the presents (*vahevahe*). The *ngaue* was first distributed among the assembled relatives of the bridegroom. The bride's relatives later received their share of the bridegroom's present to her people, at the hands of the bride's father or other officiating family representative. In this distribution of food the ranking members of the consanguinary group received the best parts, and so on in ranking order. If there was not enough to go around, the lesser representatives of the group went without, or the bridegroom's father might feel it his duty to supply food for these from his own oven.

Then the *koloa* was divided into two equal parts and distributed, but not until the bridegroom had selected in proportion to the amount a number of articles to be used in his own house. The bride also chose a like share of the man's presents to her people. In distributing the presents, the bridegroom's father or other official representative of his people (according to some informants it was the father's sister who distributed the wealth) had in mind what each person had donated toward the present that had been given to the bride's people, and each got his original gift returned in double quantity. In accomplishing this return, the distributor often stripped his own house of all its possessions, counting the social prestige of his family of greater value than his material property. If he should fail to complete the traditional remuneration to all concerned, his unmarried sons and daughters and the progeny of his married children lost face and might consequently fail to contract desirable marriages. If the distributor had insufficient goods to meet the demands, he set his household to work making tapa, mats, baskets, oil, and other articles required.[5]

A similar distribution was made of the presents of the bridegroom's people to the bride's people.

If there was great inequality in the size of the wedding gifts, the group making the smaller donation was shamed and lost social prestige to the other group. It is not to be implied that this portioning out of the *koloa* took place in one day. It began immediately after the breaking of the kava circle, but it often lasted a month and even two months.

Throughout an entire marriage ceremony, the bridegroom's father, or nearest paternal relative if the father were dead, was vested with peculiar authority. This office is said to have had no name. He was the proper one to announce the date on which the ceremony should begin. He denied the bridegroom the privilege of consorting with the bride until an appointed time. On the first night (third night?) after the exchange of gifts, he instructed the bridegroom to test the bride with his finger to determine if she were a virgin. This testing was called *mohcakii*. If her virginity was confirmed, this man stated the period of time that must elapse before the bride and bridegroom might live together as man and wife, anywhere from three days to two months, the length of the period of continence being in direct ratio to the bridegroom's social rank. A *tua* slept with his wife on the first night.

The specific night on which cohabitation took place was definitely determined by the progress of all preparations. The presents had to be apportioned, food for the following feast had to be ready, and minor details of preparation had to be attended to. Near the end of the prescribed tapu period, the father determined through his wife when all preparations would be complete. He then informed the bridegroom that the night was at

[5] Suggestive of the potlatch system of the north Pacific coast of America.

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hand when he should assume family duties. On that night the bridegroom's mother assembled all the leading elderly wives of the two interested family groups, in particular the female *fae*. These prepared the nuptial bed of many thicknesses of sleeping mats covered with several thicknesses of white tapa. Up till this time one of the *fae* slept with the couple.

On the appointed night the bridegroom and his father sat outside the house until a late hour, avowedly until everyone should be asleep. The old women selected for the occasion crowded into the house and washed and oiled the bride. After she had retired to the bed, these old women remained in the house. It is said that they went to sleep. They were designated as *haatuukau*, a term defined as "to watch, to have in charge; a watch; one who has charge of a chief's wife." Any unmarried sisters of the bride were sent away from the neighborhood to spend the night. When the bridegroom's father judged everyone to be asleep, he instructed the bridegroom to go into his wife.

On this night the bridegroom made only a partial insertion, lest the bride should experience suffering and pain. Only a *tua* would be inconsiderate of his bride in this respect. The bride would make an outcry if she were a virgin and awaken the *fae*. When the group of old women saw that the act was finished, they examined the white tapa bed covering. If it were stained with blood, they shouted and made a great disturbance. When the bridegroom's father heard the noise, he knew his daughter-in-law to have been a virgin and he set about to arouse the entire community. If the tapa bed covering should be free from blood stains, the old women departed quietly, and no further celebration or ceremony was in order. A story is told of a chief's daughter who had committed indiscretions before marriage and who made no outcry on her bridal night. In the morning upon discovering the state of affairs, the *fae* took some sharp-edged grass and cut the girl's legs to produce the required blood.

The awakened community opened ovens, previously prepared for the occasion, and brought the products to the house of the newly married couple (the house of the bridegroom's father). Meanwhile the old women bathed the bride, oiled her body, and dressed her. Then they carefully folded the soiled white tapa, wrapped it into a bundle, bound fine mats about it with *kafa* (sennit) cord and set the bundle to one side. It was called *kofokofo*.

Food being brought, those awakened and assembled by the father also gathered about and joined in the feast. The mother of the bride was widely praised as a good mother, to have kept her daughter a virgin till the day of her marriage.

On the following day a feast completed the celebration. The *kofokofo* was presented to the bride's mother by the elderly woman who had witnessed its soiling. It constituted a material compliment to her as a mother possessed of honor and wisdom.

After all was over, the *kofokofo* was quietly buried, inconspicuously, without ceremony, and in no particular place. The burial place was not named or in any way marked.

The following information was recorded by Tukuaho, as recounted by his father Tungi I. The account was given me by Tukuaho's son, the present Prince Consort.

Supposing that there is a chief's son and a chief's daughter, and the chiefs are agreeable to their marrying, then the women-folk [presumably sisters or fathers' sisters] of the chiefs go to talk the matter over. If the girl's relatives consent, a night is fixed, the bridegroom is adorned, and goes with a large crowd of companions, as many perhaps as five hundred, so that there shall be many for the *aituo* (shout of jubilation). The party halts at a little distance from the bride's house, and the bridegroom advances, accompanied by Motuapuaka and Lauaki (the two principal matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu). The bride, too, is prepared, and, as the three approach, the light in the house is extinguished, and someone asks, "Who is that?"

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The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out, and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafatusema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu." And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e, Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe, mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Someone keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered, until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bridegroom is obliged to entertain the guests.]

Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manaʋa*, the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and which serves as a dressing-room for the bride.

On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies.

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bridegroom are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called *ngafingafi*, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is the *ʋala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*, where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They then return to the dressing-room (*fale manaʋa*), and change their dresses, putting on garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *ʋala toonga*, consisting perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again (presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they return this time the dress called *ʋakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed with turmeric (called the *ʋala ʋali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava is served, accompanied with large quantities of food.

After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned out to the dancers.

Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *ʋeifua*, which is

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brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; and the *umu manatu*, which is cooked.

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games and dances are held: (1) *tafoe*, a game; (2) *lanumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *lave*, reciting and singing of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various games.

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from 1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week, which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, however, embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

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(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is revealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and subsequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *maululu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a *lakalaka*. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

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tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take away while it was good for any thing.

Finow had three daughters, the eldest of whom, now about eighteen years of age, had been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having expressed his wish that the marriage should take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary preparations, about five days after the above-mentioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

The young lady having been profusely anointed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood, was dressed in the choicest mats of the Navigator's islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

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lowers, and were dressed in a manner nearly similar, but not with quite so many mats. The lady and her five companions being all ready, proceeded to the *malâi* of Tooitonga, who was there, waiting for their arrival, together with a number of other chiefs, two matabooles sitting before him. The lady and her attendants being arrived, seated themselves on the green before Tooitonga. After the lapse of a little time a woman entered the circle with her face covered up with white *gnatoo;* she went into the house of the *malâi*, and proceeded towards the upper end, where there sat another woman in waiting with a large roll of *gnatoo*, a wooden pillow*, and a basket containing bottles of oil. The woman, whose face was veiled, took the *gnatoo* from the other, wrapped herself up in it, and laying her head upon the wooden pillow, went, or pretended to go, fast asleep. No sooner was this done than Tooitonga rose up, and taking his bride by her hand, led her into the house, and seated her on his left hand. Twenty baked hogs were now brought into the circle of the *malâi*, and a number of expert cooks came with knives (procured from European ships;

* A pillow to sleep on in these islands consists merely of a rod of wood about an inch in diameter, and a foot and a half long, and raised about half a foot by two diverging pieces at each end: the nape of the neck rests upon this.

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formerly they used bamboo) to try their skill in carving with speed and dexterity, which is considered a great recommendation. A considerable part was shared out to the chiefs, each taking *his portion and putting it in his bosom**. The remainder of the pork was then heaped up and scrambled for at an appointed signal. The woman who had laid herself down, covered over with *gnatoo*, now rose up and went away, taking with her the *gnatoo*, and the basket containing the bottles of oil, as her perquisites. Tooitonga then took his bride by her left hand, and led her to his dwelling, followed by the little girl and the other four attendants. The people now dispersed, each to his home. Tooitonga being arrived with his bride at his residence, accompanied her into the house appropriated for her†,

* It is a peculiar religious injunction in this ceremony, that the chiefs should put their pork in their bosoms, for they never eat it themselves: and as it is *tabooed* by touching them, no other native of the Tonga islands may eat it: so that it generally falls ultimately to the lot of the natives of the *Fiji* islands, or other foreigners present, who are not subject to the *taboo* of Tonga. For the nature of the *taboo*, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

† It must be noticed that every great chief has within his fencing several houses, one or more of which always belongs to his wives. He seldom goes to their house to sleep: he generally sends for one to sleep with him; at least, this is always the case with Tooitonga, for nobody can eat, drink, or sleep, in the same house with him without being *tabooed* (see *Taboo*.)

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where he left her to have her mats taken off, and her usual dress put on; after which she amused herself in conversation with the women. In the mean time a feast was prepared for the evening, of pigs, fowls, yams, &c. and cava: this was got ready on the *malái*, where, about dusk, Tooitonga presiding, the company sat down to receive their portions, which the generality reserved to take home with them; the lower orders, indeed, who had but a small quantity, consumed theirs on the spot. After this the cava was shared out and drunk. The musicians (if so they can be called) next sat down at the bottom of the ring, opposite to Tooitonga, in the middle of a circle of flambeaus, held by men who also held baskets of sand to receive the ashes. The musical instruments consisted of seven or eight bamboos of different lengths and sizes, (from three to six feet long) so as to produce, held by the middle, and one end being struck on the ground, different notes according to the intended tune (all the knots being cut out of the bamboo, and one end plugged up with soft wood). The only other instrument was a piece of split bamboo, on which a man struck with two sticks, one in each hand, to regulate the time. The music was an accompaniment to dancing, which was

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kept up a considerable time*. The dancing being over, one of the old matabooles addressed the company, making a moral discourse on the subject of chastity,—advising the young men to respect, in all cases, the wives of their neighbours, and never to take liberties even with an unmarried woman against her free consent. The company then rose, and dispersed to their respective homes. The bride was not present at this entertainment. Tooitonga being arrived at his house, sent for the bride, who immediately obeyed the summons. The moment they retired together the lights were extinguished, and a man, appointed at the door for the purpose, announced it to the people by three hideous yells, (similar to the war whoop,) which he followed up immediately by the loud and repeated sound of the conch.

* Their dances have already been described by Captain Cook and others, the account is therefore omitted here not to interrupt the narrative: for further particulars see the second volume.

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643 should return from Hamoa. He had, indeed,
581 brought two wives with him, natives of that
[177] place, but, finding that his friends at home had not been unmindful of him in this particular, he resolved to marry these young maidens also: and partly to please his own humour, and partly to afford a little amusement to the Hapai people, he resolved, also, that the ceremony should be performed, for the most part, after the manner of the Navigator's islands.

634 On the morning of the day of marriage,
585 which was about a week after the arrival of the
[565] prince, most of the lower class of the people were employed in bringing from different parts of the island, yams, ripe plantains, and bananas; cocoa-nuts, bread fruit, fish, and cakes*. These were piled up on the *maldi* in four large heaps, with a baked pig on the top of each.
[292] The people assembled on the spot, dressed up
[301] in new garments, ornamented with wreaths of
[302] flowers, and with red ribbands made of the fine membrane of the leaf of the *lo aców*, much resembling silk: their persons were anointed with sweet-scented oil. The spectators seated themselves in two sections of a circle, one beginning from the right, the other from the left

[262] * These cakes are made of flour prepared from the *Ma-*
[252] *hod root* (see the vocabulary), mixed up with scraped cocoa-nut into a paste, and baked. They are considered a luxury.

A [of Finow's son--Analyst]

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hand of Finow and his matabooles; at their terminations stood the Hapai people on the one side, and the new-comers (most of them Hapai people also), on the other, so as to be opposite to each other, both parties being furnished with clubs made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree. The prince, who was also armed with a club, stood up among his Hamoa companions.

The two brides were now conducted by their female attendants from the house of Finow (near the *malái*). They were dressed in the finest Hamoa mats *, but not in such profusion as described in Tooitonga's marriage, and were veiled in the finest *gnatoo*. They were led into the house on the *malái*, and seated on bales also of the finest *gnatoo*. Here their feet, hands, faces, and breasts, were anointed with a mixture of sandal-wood oil, and the purest turmeric, producing a deep orange tint on their skins. They remained seated in this place, to be spectators of the combat that was about to ensue between the inhabitants of Hapai and their friends from Hamoa.

The two parties being ready, the challenges

* These mats are made entirely by hand, and when very fine and large, occupy two years making; this renders them exceedingly valuable. They are so exquisitely manufactured, that one would suppose them to be woven by a loom,

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were given in the following way: a man from one side runs over to the opposite party and sits down before it; he then makes a sign to know if any one will engage with him: the person who chooses to accept the challenge comes forward brandishing his club, when the two combatants proceed to the middle of the circle, each attended by one from his own party to assist as second. They next determine whether they shall fight after the Tonga or Hamoa fashion; the difference of which is, that the Hamoa custom allows a man to beat his antagonist after he is knocked down, as long as he perceives signs of motion: the Tonga mode, on the contrary, only allows him to flourish his club over his fallen foe, and the fight is at an end. This point being agreed on, the two champions for the applause of the multitude begin to engage. When they have finished, another party comes on in the same way. Sometimes there are three or four sets of combatants engaged at the same time. When a man gains a victory, his own party gives a shout of approbation, *wo wo, á ma to, i oi, i, oi**;

[104] * The words of this exclamation have, separately, no particular meaning: in respect to the pronunciation, the *o* in *wo* must be dwelt on at least five seconds; the *a* is to be sounded as in ah! tar, &c. the *i* as *e* in he, we, &c.: the whole is given in a sort of recitative, and very slowly.—

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the champion then advances towards the chief who presides at the head of the circle (in this instance the king), sits down before him, out of respect, then rises immediately, and returns to his own party.

Such was the mode in which these club-fights were conducted: the prince engaged in several of them, and performed great feats of bravery: he fought no less than fourteen or fifteen battles, and always came off victorious.

The fighting with clubs being over, at a signal from Finow, the boxing and wrestling matches commenced. As their performances in these ways have been so accurately described by Captain Cook, it would be unnecessary to enter here into a detail.

These feats being concluded, the prince and his chiefs retired to the neighbouring houses to dress their heads with a sort of turban, made of white *gnatoo*, ornamented with small red feathers. Thus equipped, they returned to the *malái*, when the chiefs sat down again among their own party, and the prince went up to his two brides, who were still sitting in the house, raised them up, one by each hand, and led them forth upon the *malái* amid the acclamations of

N. B. when an *e* occurs in the Tonga language, it must be pronounced like *a* in date, late, &c. For farther particulars on the subject of pronunciation, see the grammar.

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634 the people, who clapped their hands, whilst the
585 matabooles exclaimed *malie! malie!* (well done!
well done!). The young chiefs and their com-
634 panions from Hamoa, sung the following song,
585 beating time with their hands: it is in the lan-
533 guage of the Navigator's islands, and Mr. Ma-
177 riner does not understand the meaning of it; he
[191] was so much in the habit of hearing the Tonga people sing in that language, which they affect to admire, though very few understand what they sing, that he neglected to enquire the meaning of this song; but the words, or rather the syllables, (for it is hard to say whether they are divided quite right), he remembers perfectly well, as many of the people went about all the following night singing it, according to the custom at Hamoa: the song is as follows:

Láfe láfe é, láfe láfe é,
Láfe láfe é chiniláu;
Chi a my ta tó.
Óa láo fia tála ou.
Móegnagnóngo é, Móegnagnongo é;
Toobó mo Laképa e, Toobó mo Laképa é.

Toobo Mo Lakepa was the name of one of the brides, who was a personage of greater rank than the other.

634 While this singing and these acclamations
585 were going forward, the prince led his brides
535
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to the bottom of the *malái* with a slow and dignified step, and then returned, amid the same acclamations, into the house, and re-seated them upon the bales of *gnatoo;* after which he commenced a dance on the *malai* with the young chiefs, who had put on turbans. This dance was also after the manner of the Navigator's islands, and seemed to afford the people much entertainment: in Mr. Mariner's opinion, there was not so great an exhibition of agility as in their own dances, but equally as much grace, and somewhat more attitude. In the mean time the brides were conducted to the residence of the bridegroom. The dance being concluded, the provisions were shared out: the two larger portions were allotted, by Finow's orders, to the new comers, (to be disposed of afterwards as they thought proper): the next largest was shared out to all foreigners, viz. natives of Fiji, Hamoa, the island of Fotoona, &c.; and the remaining heap, at an appointed signal, was scrambled for by all who chose to try their speed and dexterity. This last scene afforded great diversion to all the spectators. The baked pig on the top of the heap was soon brought down, and pulled about in a most miserable way; being torn piece-meal, and so covered with sand and dirt as to be quite uneatable. The ceremony was now concluded by a

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general boxing-match; the men from the north of the island combating those from the south; till at length the men of the north drove their opponents entirely off the ground. On occasions of such fights the combatants are allowed to wear turbans, to resemble more nearly a real fight. It must here be observed that turbans are not allowed to be worn but in time of war, and then only by those who are going to battle, unless on occasions of formal rejoicings like the present, or at night-time by chiefs and matabooles, or by the common people when at work in the fields or in canoes. On all other occasions, to wear a head-dress would be disrespectful; for although no chief be present, yet some god may be at hand unseen. This custom is kept up with such strictness, that if a man were to wear a head-dress on other occasions, he would be sure to be knocked down by the first person he met who was a superior, and even, perhaps, if he were an equal. On occasions, when a turban is allowed to be worn, it must be removed from the head when a superior happens to approach (unless in time of actual battle); but it is usual for the superior to say to one who is not much inferior, "*toogoo ho fow*," keep on your *fow*,—as we would say, keep on your hat,—which compliment is generally accepted. The king used frequently to tell Mr.

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Mariner, that if he ever met any common fellow with his head covered, he should immediately knock him down. He[A] was, however, allowed, like other foreigners, to wear a headdress without any restriction, as being supposed to be governed by different gods, and accustomed to different manners.

But to return to our subject: it may be noticed that the form of the prince's marriage as here related, and which, for the most part, was according to the Hamoa custom, was not very different from that of the Tonga islands; but two parts of the Hamoa ceremony were in this instance left out, viz. the payment of something valuable to the brides' fathers by the bridegroom, such as bales of gnatoo, beads, &c. the brides being virgins: the other part of the ceremony, which in fact was to ascertain whether such payment was justly due, should have been performed by the bridegroom (digito admoto) when he had led his brides back into the house, and re-seated them on the bales of *gnatoo:* but the circumstance alluded to, not being thought by the natives of the Tonga islands consistent with delicacy, was accordingly omitted.

In the evening of the same day, the large house on the *malái* was lighted up with flambeaus. Singers and dancers of Hapai assem-

A [Mariner--Analyst]

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bled, and waited the arrival of the prince and his Hamoa friends. In a short time they came with presents of fine mats, dried cava root, &c. (the cava root of the Navigator's islands is greatly esteemed). These they laid down at the feet of Finow and his wife, Toobo ve Holla, who were seated opposite the entrance. Her majesty returned the compliment by presenting them with three or four English wine-bottles, an hour-glass, without either sand or stand, and some pieces of iron hoop, made sharp in the form of chisels; which having received, they retired and seated themselves on one side, opposite the party of Hapai singers. These latter now began a vocal concert, in the language and after the manner of the Hamoa islands. When they had finished, those from Hamoa sung, and so on alternately during four or five hours, after which the company broke up. The brides were not present at this concert; and the bridegroom, not finding himself much interested in it, soon gave them the slip.

This ceremony, and these rejoicings, being over, Finow again began to turn his attention towards Vavaoo. In the first place he dispatched canoes to the different Hapai islands, with orders to each, that all the male inhabitants (excepting two of the oldest for each plantation, to keep them clear of weeds, &c.

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down while they passed: for if any one were to forego this ceremony in presence of a superior *Egi*, some calamity from the gods would be expected as a punishment for the omission. Sitting down is with them a mark of respect, as standing up is with us, before a superior; upon the principle perhaps, that in this posture a man cannot so readily attack or assassinate the person in whose presence he is; or it may be that in this posture lowering his height is significant of his rank or merit being humbled in presence of the other.

There are many ceremonies which characterise the high respect and veneration shewn to Tooitonga; but as in this place we are discoursing of rank, not of ceremonies, the full description of the latter must be deferred till we come to speak of religious rites. Here we shall only mention, in a general way, in what these ceremonies chiefly consist.

1. The grand ceremony of *ináchi*, which is performed once a year, (about the month of October,) and consists in offering the first fruits of the year to Tooitonga. It was supposed that if this ceremony were neglected, the vengeance of the gods would fall in a signal manner upon the people.

2. Peculiarity of his marriage ceremony.

3. Peculiarity of his burial ceremony.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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a positive duty in every married woman to remain true to her husband. What we mean by a married woman is, one who cohabits with a man, and lives under his roof and protection, holding an establishment of him. A woman's marriage is frequently independent of her consent, she having been betrothed by her parents, at an early age, to some chief, mataboole or mooa: perhaps about one third of the married women have been thus betrothed; the remaining two thirds have married with their free consent. Every married woman must remain with her husband whether she choose it or not, until he please to divorce her. Mr. Mariner thinks that about two thirds of the women are married, and of this number full half remain with their husbands till death separates them; that is to say, full one third of the female population remain married till either themselves or their husbands die: the remaining two thirds are married and are soon divorced, and are married again perhaps three, four, or five times in their lives, with the exception of a few who, from whim or some accidental cause, are never married; so that about one third of the whole female population, as before stated, are at any given point of time unmarried. This calculation is made with due reference to the women living on the plantations, who are almost all married to the

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teeth were of ivory, and gleamed white upon the girl, and were very beautiful. Then he spread two mats (*kie*), and lay with the girl. Then Tuipulotu bade her take the mats, and return with her sisters to the world. This is the reason of the custom in Tongan marriage of the mat of virginity, *kie tangavai*.[2] So they were saved alive.

The Demon and His House of Beautiful Men and Women

In this story no names are given, and the locale is not said to be Pulotu. Probably it is to be considered a brief variant of the foregoing, though there are differences of detail, and the ending may have been modified by European fairy tales.

There was once a *nifoloa*, whose house was built of beautiful men and women. The house was completed but for the ridgepole. Where the ridgepole should be was a space, left vacant to be filled by a person of flawless beauty. At last the demon discovered a girl whose beauty was in every way perfect, and she was led away to fill the empty space. As she went she wept, and when she was brought into the house the faces of those already built in grinned with envy of her loveliness.

But the demon was moved and softened by her loveliness and distress, and placed a substitute for her as ridgepole. Then he took her to the seashore, and bade her slay him; but this she could not bring herself to do; so he told her to go away, and he himself leaped into the sea. Thence he returned to her a handsome young man, and married her, and dismissed to their homes the men and women who had formed his house.

Lolongovavau, Daughter of Hina and Sinilau

Hina, the wife of Sinilau,[1] a handsome man of the midpart of Tonga, bore him a daughter. After a time Hikuleo came from Pulotu, and, entering Hina's house, bade them bring the child out into the center of the house. The parents obeyed weeping, supposing that their child was to be killed. Hikuleo ordered, however, that she be named Lolongovavau, and that she be taken to Pulotu, to be queen (*tui*) there. Hina's brother, Ofamaikiatama (Love to the child), said that he would go to Pulotu to look after her.[3] So Lolongovavau was taken to Pulotu, and placed in the palace (*fale hau*), and the two trees Pukolea (Speaking tree) and Akautalanoa[4] (Talking tree) came at once, and stood, each at a doorpost, to guard the girl. There were also the guards who stood to watch.

Now the maiden was very beautiful, and when she grew up, her uncle, seeing that the time had come for her to marry, went up to the world[5] to seek a handsome man to be her husband. He commenced his search in

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called *po-ula*. Cook's description of the dances he saw (18, vol. 2, pp. 96-98) recounts a dance of women, followed by a dance of men who went through much the same movements as the women.

A dance, *tafi*, is described as a sitting dance of men, in which the movements are descriptive of various activities.

The word *ula* is applied to dancing and singing. The reduplicated form *ulaula* is used today of European dancing. Mariner, however,, mentions *ula* as the name of a specific night dance, or rather of two dances, one of long standing in Tonga, and the other recently introduced from Samoa.

The name of an entertainment (*hea*) is found in many old stories, though it seems to have passed out of contemporary use. Mariner (28, vol. 2, p. 214) describes it as a very ancient Tongan dance practised only by chiefs and superior *matapule*:

> . . . and a dance very difficult to execute, not only on account of the accompanying gesture, but also of the singing. The chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the chiefs or principal matabooles, in the middle of whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat piece of hardwood, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, fastened only at one end upon another similar piece. This is struck by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produces a rattling sound. The difficulty of keeping the time is owing to the extreme velocity with which they beat, particularly towards the latter end. The dancers, who are all men, in the meantime perform their evolutions round the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very graceful movements with the arms and head, accompanied by expressions of countenance suitable to the character of the dance, which is that (abstractedly) to a, manly and noble spirit, consistent with the minds and habits of a superior person, and therefore it is deemed essential that every chief and mataboole should learn it.

Labillardière (27) describes a men's dance in Tonga, in which the performers held in their hands little clubs, which they moved about, making at the same time various movements with their feet, at first in slow time, then quicker. Labillarière says that the travellers' admiration was excited by the velocity and animation of the dancers. He describes the dance as celebrating the noble deeds of warriors. This would seem to be an exhibition of the *hea*.

A men's dance, with spears, axes, and like manly implements and weapons is the *mee tupaki*, still performed. Mariner calls the *mee tupaki* "a dance standing up with paddles; a day-dance." He says that this was one of the dances witnessed by Captain Cook. And Cook (18, vol. 2, p. 95) describes a paddle dance, performed by 105 men, in which there were not only many skillful flourishes of the hands, but also complicated changes of the three lines in which the dancers first ranged themselves.

In connection with marriage ceremonies is a dance called *lanumanga*, which I have neither seen nor heard described. One of my brief notes suggests *fokai* (lizard) as the name of a dance, and also indicates that the

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priest, or priestess, of the *feke* (octopus god) represented the octopus at times by sprawling on the ground.

Dances, of course, figure largely in the festivals for any joyous occasion. In earlier days, dances were performed at the funerals of great chiefs, and at the important religious festival of Inasi (First fruits). (See 18, vol. 2, pp. 131-135; 28, vol. 2, pp. 168-173; 37, p. 158.) Krämer (26, vol. 2, pp. 314-328) gives a description of Samoan dances, illustrated by photographs.

Although dancing, song, and instrumental music usually go together, they are not always associated. Labillardière says that he heard an extremely monotonous duet upon bamboo flutes and mentions Pan's pipes, or flutes, of which the "tubes give full and not very extensive notes, and the highest forms a fourth with the lowest." While I have not seen the Pan's pipes, I have seen the nose flute (*fangufangu*), but this, too, is becoming rare. The blowing of the conch is still fairly common, and there are a number of the wooden drums (*lali*).

Mariner mentions *lave* and *fakaniua* as types of song. But the term *lave* is used for recitation, song, or for composition recited or sung.

Falaolongo [1]

Falaolongo hard by Kailahi's cave,[2]
Fineingo and Tausisivavaki,
And the toa tree Tuihalafatai[3]
Its plaintive sighing in Avataliapi.[4]
I stood by Huafaikitama[5]
Smiling upward on the meadow.
Vailahi, my way is hidden,[6]
I remember Veingangana[7]
Playing hide-and-seek with Vaitakiafale;
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind perchance is from the north,[8]
Is it blowing upon Keitahi,
Meitumu and the breaking wave,
Veiatavake and Vaoatokotoko?[9]
The wind has gone about,
Blown about the dripping water in Veitoto;[10]
Height above Lokupo with its clinging mist,[11]
By the road in the midst of the mountain,
The moon's soft glow and uprising
Flooding with light the *fatai* and the grass,[12]
By the pool-gemmed coast of Fotumoko.[13]
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind remains in the north,
Goes gently round on the Sacred Coast,[14]
On Veingangana and Vai Aku,[15]
My vain search in the deep for bonito;[16]
I long to go on to Huangalau,[17]
Borne hither the fame of its beauty;
Is the weather coast of Tonga told in chosen words[18]
By the sand of Laulea?
When uprisen is the moon,
And gleams on Fakaulunafa[19]
And the pool Valekatoua.
Dear weather-coast of Tonga here am I.

Song of Fishers [1]

In the moons of Former Nit and Rain,[2]
Moon for this paddling on the sea,
Early has gone the king of Tefisi;[3]
Fast approaches a day of assembly.
On the morning's morn bring the boats around,
Ashore in Fasia, and early go—[4]
Tofoa at the dawn, Halakakala,[5]
And Houmafeo and Faiana,[6]
Fotuia, Ta'ane, and Omai.
Gathered are all the fisherman chiefs;
Let us look about for a teller of winds,[7]
On a day that is near for the kava ring.[8]
The nets have been lifted at Fakapu,[9]

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NOTES

Page 8. Maui in Eua

1. The *si* is apparently the well-known *Cordyline terminalis;* the leaves used in making girdles, the root for sweetening food. Pratt (30) says that in Samoa the root was used as food in times of scarcity. Doubtless the Tongans also ate it when other food was not plentiful.

Pages 10-11. Stories of Tongatabu

1. Vaileua, called also Touia. Possibly one name is that of the ground in which the pool was situated, and the other that of the pool itself.

2. No other occurrence of the word *haulefe* is known to me.

3. A party which includes one chief or a number of chiefs is referred to collectively as *houeiki* (chiefs), and chiefly language is used with reference to them.

Page 11. The well Veemumuni

1. The term *vai* (water), here translated "well" is applied to lake, spring, pool of fresh water, the sea, and river, frequently without distinction, but descriptive words are sometimes added, for example, *vai-tafe*, flowing water (river); *vai-tapu*, springing water (spring).

Page 12. Road to Pulotu

1. Smith (33, pp. 35, 36) thinks that in this duality of position of the Spirit-world, which is common throughout Polynesia, there is a confusion of two meanings of *raro, lalo* (*ao*), down and west.

Page 16. Tuipulotu's house in Pulotu

1. Tuipulotu is a frequently occurring proper name, both of men and women. Mariner mentions Tuipulotu as a minor god of the sea and voyages, and protector of Finau's family (28, vol. 2, p. 107).

2. Accounts of Samoan marriage ceremony are given by Kramer (26, vol. 1, p. 38); by Brown (6, p. 21); and by Collocott (11).

Pages 17-20. Lolongovavau, daughter of Hina and Sinilau

1. It is not necessary to assume that every occurrence of the names Hina and Sinilau concerns Hina, connected with moon and sea, and Sinilau or Tinirau, son of the sun, connected with sea and fishes. I have heard the Tongan opinion expressed that there is a tendency for stories of handsome men and their beautiful wives to attach themselves to the names of Sinilau and Hina. In this tale, however, there are many features of Hina stories.

2. The mother's side of the house is subordinate to the father's, and from that side is most likely to come such a guardian as Ofamaikiatama.

3. There are frequent mentions of speaking *puko* tree, or a speaking tree, but this identification of two trees, as indicated by the two expressions, is rare.

4. The expression *Alu hake ki mama* means "went up to light." The word *mama* (light) is a usual one for the world of human beings, and for human beings themselves; Mamani, which apparently means this light, is practically a proper name of this world.

5. Persons greeting one another commonly refer to what the other is doing; that is, Ofamaikiatama says "Malo e maimoa" (Malo the game), and Lolomatokelau replies, "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, *malo* the journey). The word *malo*, sometimes rather colorless, expresses thanks, approval, appreciation. A very common form of greeting of people meeting on the road is the simple question "Were you in such a place?"

6. See p. 12 for reference to roads to Pulotu. Gifford gives Niuaunofo as the northwestern point of Tongatabu. This is a few miles north from the road to Pulotu on the weather coast near the village of Foui.

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6. The border or edge of anything is *kapa*, and I presume that *tau kapakapa* is the reduplicated form of that word, indicating the edge of the house. [539]

7. The inference is that Tongamauluau is exerting malign influence over Kulakehahau, and it is probably implied that she is not truly human. The narrator just here refers to Anumatenifa as *tevolo*, but whether it is meant that she herself is not really human, or merely that she is behaving with inhuman malignity is not clear. [192]

8. I do not know the meaning of the expression, *he funga ta*, but conjecture that although Kulakehahau and Anumatenifa dwelt in the one house it was in a condition of separateness from each other.

9. By the expression "kin of my father," Kulakehahau indicates that Anumatenifa could not be his wife. [602]

10. The variant which follows mentions that Tongamauluau went with only bark cloth wrapped round her.

11. An additional wife, or wives, brought to a man by his wife are termed *fokonofo*. A woman apparently frequently brought her own younger sisters, or other relatives, as *fokonofo*. Perhaps Tongamauluau means that when Kulakehahau deserted her to live with another woman it was because of a new love, not a new wife that she herself had provided, but just an unreasonable whim. [595]

12. The pining of children for absent friends and relatives is called *manatu* (remember). This is regarded very seriously by the Tongans. [858] [828]

Pages 41-43. Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau, a variant

1. Aofitoki and Aouli are said to be the names of two kinds of cloud. [821]

2. The meaning of *aituo*, a rare word in present-day Tongan, is difficult to discover, but apparently it is the shout of jubilation as a chief leads away his bride. [192]

3. Cloth with unprinted edges cut off is called *lotoingatu;* it is suitable for a chief's dress. [291]

4. The term *kuluhulu-tuu* indicates "not put on in the usual way of the kilt (vala), but worn so as to cover the bosom." [291]

Pages 43-44. Tuiolemana and the crab

1. There is a mixture in these names of Tongan and Samoan forms. In Nukuseilala, *nuku* is a Tongan form, and *seilala* Samoan; *tui-o-le-mana* may be wholly Samoan. [197]

2. The word *misimisi* is commonly used to mean suck, but Labillardière reports it as used in a context where it apparently means sexual intercourse. [192]

Pages 44-46. Kalikihevae and the son of the Tui Tonga

1. It is possible to read the Tongan as though the disease had just developed as they reached Hihifo. [857]

2. Tongan women frequently chew food to soften it for their children.

3. The candlenut is a very popular detergent. [515]

4. The inference is Nua had already borne a child, but so beautiful was she that this did not diminish her desirability.

Pages 46-49. Vaenuku and Lepuha

1. The word *mua* is translated (29) as *distributeur, qui parle pour le chef; Ko 'ene mu'a, c'est son*, second. I have found nowhere else any reference to the custom. The second day of the three days assigned to marriage festivities is marked as the bride's bathing day. This bathing must be a special one, as no Tongan, unless in exceptional circumstances, omits the daily bath. Presumably the maiden's leaving her compound to go to the bathing pool was held to present an opportunity for an interview or, perhaps, for beholding the lady's charms. [539] [585] [515]

2. Presumably the meaning is that the maiden and Vaenuku had met and she had accepted him as lover; that is, the bride is announcing to those concerned the successful suitor. [539]

Pages 49-50. Fragments of a poem of Lepuha and Vaenuku

1. This name is also written Vainuku.

2. I am uncertain whether in the Tongan of this line the word is *si*, the plant

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539 *Dracaena* (possibly the leaf and streamer girdle, *sigi*), or whether it is *sii* (as written), the common, usually untranslatable, word of affection.

3. Fetoa and Toloke are evidently localities represented by the suitors.

[103] 4. The champion of Veifefe is Vaenuku, from Eua. Veifefe is the name of a tiny stream in Eua. The word is also written Veefefe.

Page 51. The transformation of Vaenuku's brother

[538] 1. This is the usual ceremonious and apologetic way of commencing speech; *uta* (shore) means the dwellers in the land; *hau*, the comers to the festival at which the poem is recited.

Page 52. Auka and Talataiva

[538] 1. There is a well-known proverb, *Ko ho'o foui ne fai*, "Your *foui* did it," equivalent to "It is your own fault."

[302] 2. This needless betrayal of an illicit amour seems strange, but with it may be
585 compared the painting of brides with turmeric during the marriage ceremony. I have
837 heard, though without much confirmation, that husbands sometimes safeguarded the fidelity of their wives during their absence by painting their bellies with turmeric. Obliteration of the design was evidence of unfaithfulness. Is there, behind all this, a blood ritual connected with sexual intercourse?

[538] 3. There is a well-known proverb, *tuanaki Auka* (relying on Auka) which indicates misplaced confidence (17, no. 552).

Page 58. How the vete was taken to Hihifo

[825] 1. Haitau is called also Mufutaaetau (8, p. 228).

[776]

Page 59. Flea and nit go fishing

539 The *matakelekele* is said to be a very strange-looking fish. For Samoa, Krämer
825 gives *matasisele* as *filoa* before it is fully grown (26, vol. 2, pp. 417, 419). There are indications that the *matakelekele* was once worshipped, a very intelligent informant saying that he heard a man say that sacrifices were taken to it.

[103] 2. Haapepe and Haatafu are names of localities in Tonga. The not infrequent
[551] occurrence in names of *pepe* (butterfly) suggests that there may have been once a butterfly clan.

Pages 59-61. The club-footed children

539 1. In the course of the story three words used of supernatural beings are used of
[192] the demon: *nifoloa*, *faahikehe*, and *tevolo*.

[782] 2. It would seem that the success of an incantation, or invocation, was achieved
[192] by preceding it by the word *tuputupu-le-fanua*. The form of the word is Samoan
[191] rather than Tongan, but it apparently is not known in Samoa, as it is not in Pratt's Dictionary. Tregear (34) defines Tuputupuwhenua as "a celebrated divine or semi-divine personage, mentioned in Polynesian traditions. He is also called Tumutumuwhenua." Thus the incantation may have been originally an appeal to the being mentioned by Tregear.

[177] 3. The rock wall can hardly be an original feature in a Tongan story. This
845 feature may be borrowed, or introduced lately, or the story itself may be a borrowed
[732] one into which some Tongan ideas are introduced. The mother's shame at the deformity of her children is characteristic. Tongans are more sensitive to physical blemishes than are Europeans.

Page 61. Tafakula and the origin of the papaya

[773] 1. The sandalwood (*ahi*) of a ruddy brown color, is said to be especially associated
824 with this goddess (8, p. 237).

Page 61. The Samoan and the Tongan exchange gifts

[196] 1. The depreciatory effect of the reduplication of *niu* (nut) can perhaps be best
[115] rendered by the use of "near" in the sense in which it has become familiar as applied to beer. I heard this story told by Professor A. R. Brown, now of Sydney University.

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of omen is evidently the fact that Falepapalangi is so ill that he can no longer do as he likes, but has to be very careful.

11. It is not likely now that the events referred to in these lines can be ascertained. Matamoana is a place name, one locality so named being a mound (*sia*) in Hihifo. Papavao may be a name, or may indicate some beaten level place in a wood. Tuihalafatai was the name of a Tui Kanokupolu who died in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Halafatai is the name of the weather coast (*liku*) at Kolovai in Hihifo, Tongatabu. The flats (*toafa*) are the shallows along the northern coast of Hihifo.

12. His title to fame was not as a cultivator of the soil, nor as a planter of kava (the plant valued amongst chiefs, and whose successful cultivation set the seal on a man's skill as a gardener), but that he was known as a man who wandered from place to place, a man of the road, amusing the chiefs with his songs. Maafu and Ahomee and Ata are chiefs; Uhi and Mafi Motuapuaka are *matapule*.

13. The picture is of a man entering a house where Falepapalangi and others are sitting, chiefs being present, the man bowing as he comes in and takes his place. He wishes to give Falepapalangi his leaf-girdles, a sign of his appreciation of the bard, and throws it to him across the front of those sitting between him and Falepapalangi, but his aim falls short.

14. Mapaehingano is the nickname of a chief. The *mapa* and the *hingano* are valued plants.

15. Tonga is standing, secure, but the loss, the grievousness, is his own fate.

16. The "mutual liking" is either of Falepapalangi and his choir, or of the chiefs and Falepapalangi and his choir.

17. Reference is to the songs of Falepapalangi and his singers on a voyage to Vavau, Haafuluhao. When they reach Vavau the wind goes round to the south (*tonga*) that is, word comes from Tonga that he is to return to attend the Tui Tonga and his principal wife. The Tui Tonga used to be carried about in a litter.

18. The wealth is probably the right given him by a great chief, Fuhifalahola, to sing before him. Fuhifalahola (cluster of hala) is a nickname for a chief, quite possibly the Tui Kanokupolu, or perhaps the Tui Tonga. But since Uhi and Lauaki and Kioa are *matapule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, he is in all likelihood the chief indicated.

Pages 84-86. The voyage of Ulamoleka to Niua Toputapu

1. The expression *tavatava-'i-Manuka* in the original, means "whisper in Manuka." The exact translation of *tavatava* is uncertain, though it is said to mean the name of a woman, wife of Tongafusifonua, who lived in Manua in Samoa. When the Maui arrived in Manua in search of the hook with which to haul up lands, the woman who loved Maui Kisikisi imparted to him the secret of which hook to select. When the Maui made the right choice, Tongafusifonua exclaimed "Who has *'tavatava-'i-Manuka?"* meaning "Who has betrayed the secret?" The expression is proverbial for telling that which should not be told (15, No. 3, p. 278; 17, No. 367; 28, vol. 1, p. 228, where the land-fishing is ascribed, not to Maui, but to Tangaloa).

2. The mat, that is, the virgin or bridal mat presented by the virgin bride to her husband. Ulamoleka says that for the first time, he learns, forsooth, that the mat is a very high chiefly one, that is, that the girl is a very high chieftainess, too high for him to espouse.

3. Ulamoleka, appropriately to a navigator, clears away the tapu on account of his words in the preceding lines, which may sound presumptously to the unseen powers, by propitiating the stars. Aloua is a star name.

4. Ulamoleka commences something about himself, the great navigator, clever at finding lands; but breaks off to tell the girl she can do as she pleases to Tonga, represented of course by himself.

5. Niutoua is a little stream in Niua Toputapu.

6. A navigation metaphor is here used "The poet will seek another charmer."

7. Here there is more than one strand of meaning. When the rejected suitor goes on his new love errand the girl will not know to whom he has gone. Possibly there is the idea that she does not know how high his lineage is; he refers to his lofty descent later. Again the Niua Toputapu girl does not know how great are the ladies who have not despised his love. And he goes on immediately to refer to another aspect of the aspersions against his birth. He is thought a man of no great birth because he works so hard, but the great Loau did not disdain to work.

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further recommendation of being openhanded. The dour chief of Majilamea was rejected with the scornful inquiry as to when there was ever a man worth while from Majilamea. 539 584

Another rendering of this phrase, seemingly the more widely used, and probably the better, is *Kai pe tae a Majilamea* [Eat offal (excrement), Majilamea.] A delicate invitation of this sort is a common form of Tongan billingsgate. The expression has a wide application and may be compared in general with the Biblical question, "Can any good come out of Nazareth?" 539 578 261

454. Fakakiki kae oho: Trembling but making a rush. 539 584

This indicates the rushing of a man into the danger which he at first feared. An instance given of its application does not indicate very stern perils, being nothing more alarming than the fair charmer before whom a man finds himself embarrassed and fearful, but whom at last he wins for his own.

455. Hoa a kehe: Mating of different (sorts). 539 593

Those who are married, or in some other way united, but are not well matched.

456. Manako Sea manako Sau: Baker translates this phrase: "To be in love with two opposite parties or things." 539 584

This, or some kindred meaning, seems undoubtedly to express the sense of the phrase, but it is difficult to get today a reliable explanation of the literal meaning. *Sea* and *sau* are unknown as common nouns and if they are used as names their occurrence must be very infrequent. However, Dr. Krämer (Samoa-Inseln, I Band, pp. 121 ff. and 176) quotes both *Sea* (in composition) and *Sau* as Samoan names for women. The Tongan account of the proverb is that *Sea* and *Sau* were two beautiful women (probably Samoans), both beloved by a handsome man (Tuitonga in one account) who, being unable to make up his mind between their rival charms, in the end got neither. One story makes a happier ending by asserting that he got both.

457. Mata lupe kehea: Seeing other dove. 539 837

The word dove is used here of a sweetheart and seems to be a very old term of endearment applied by a man to his mistress. This phrase means a man who has become enamored of a new charmer and forgotten his old love.

458. Poloji poloji pea koji kovi: Long-haired, long-haired, and cut evilly. 539 836

The wearing of two long locks of hair at the back of a girl's head was a sign of virginity, these locks being cut at marriage. Virginity was highly prized in a bride and was marked by special features in the marriage ceremony. The expression indicates a girl who has lost the right to wear the maiden locks before being duly married. 302 585

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539 836 302 585 565 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

539 262 585 **459. Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 584 571 888 **460. See so:** Scaring off sweethearting.

Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in" where he is not wanted.

539 584 829 **461. Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish about.

This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 584 **462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome (*manaia*) Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

[576] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291] [287] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencumbered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the best. The bloom of the breadfruit—both from its shape and its function as a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment.

[826] [831]

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his son was going thither on a festive occasion, he invited me to accompany him. I was pleased with the prospect of an excursion, and fitted out the canoe, which I had built, with the assistance of my workmen, for the voyage.

I was much entertained in the tour, and joined the natives in all their amusements. The chief, whom we visited, mentioned to me a young person, whom he wished I would do him the honour to marry, that he might be related to me. She was a fair pretty girl, only fourteen years of age. I did not take her as my wife, but espoused her by a matrimonial ceremony, which often takes place, like the jewish espousal, years before the consummation of the nuptials.

The matrimonial ceremonies were performed at this time, in a grand marriage, between Dugonagaboola, and the daughter of a chief of Arbai. To honour his nuptials by our attendance, was the cause of our excursion thither. Upon our arrival, we found Dugonagaboola had been there a fortnight, to provide for the festivities of his approaching wedding. By this time, a large store of provisions was accumulated, consisting of pigs, yams, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c.; all which, on the bridal morn, were brought in regular order before the chief, whose daughter was to be married, and presented to him.

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The bride, a fine woman of twenty three years of age, came soon after, at the head of three hundred women, who followed her in procession. Her dress was modest and elegant. A thin vest, neatly crimped, of a dark colour, which shewed her complexion to advantage, was fastened under her arms, and hung down to her waist, where it was bound close, by a skirt, riched with flowery ornaments of matting.

She walked at the distance of two or three paces before them; her carriage was graceful and majestic, yet modest, her eyes cast down with that diffident coyness and decorous timidity, which, notwithstanding the audacity of the age, so often heightens the charms of the daughters of Britain. As she entered the green before the fallee, or habitation, where the guests were all seated in comely rank and order, a female advanced from the company and taking her respectfully by the hand conducted her to her husband, and gracefully seated her by his side. The attendants then retired from her, and seated themselves in order with the guests, leaving the bride and bridegroom in a little space by themselves. The provisions were then plentifully distributed. After the repast, the bridegroom rose, advanced to the shore, and went on board the canoe. The three hundred women that attended her rose up after him, conducted the bride, in a procession to the shore, and four of them handed

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her into the canoe, and gently seated her by the side of her husband. She then took leave of them. I did not perceive her shed tears, but she hung down her head with a melancholy, modest air, and gently waved her hand as a farewell. The four attendants remained with her[1] till the canoe was rowing off. They had been with her from her birth till this moment; when they resigned their charge to four others, who were to be the same guardians of her fidelity as the former had been of her virginity. It is the custom through life, thus carefully to keep the daughters of the principal chiefs. They are never suffered to be without one or two of these attendants, night and day. The young women indeed pride themselves much upon their virginity, which they call taihenee: and as the token and ornament of that state, their hair is suffered to remain uncut till their marriage. Whether this distinction which is here properly considered the virgin's "glory," is then laid aside, because her honor then becomes inseparable from that of the husband, I know not, but it is singular, that they have only one word to express both husband and wife, viz. "Oanna," as though the union was so intimate that even language could not refer to the one without including the other.

As the husband receives his partner unspotted, he provides a similar guard to preserve her so. For, unchastity is considered of so little account at Tonga,

1 [i.e. the bride of the Tui Kanokupolu--Analyst]

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175 nicated the affair to the daughter, who consented
584 to the match. But, as the choice of a husband is not in the power of the daughters, but he is provided by the discretion of the parent, an instance of refusal on the part of the daughter, is unknown at Tonga-
[586 taboo. This, however, is deemed no hardship there,
837] where divorce and unchastity are so general. Some power of accepting or rejecting a partner for life, seems highly reasonable for the fair inhabitants of an island, where marriage, sanctioned and confirmed by laws human and divine, is justly considered an inviolable covenant for life: and a chaste fidelity, the pure fountain of its bliss, which would be destroyed by the least contamination.

175 Preparations were then made for the nuptials.
585 The joyful bridegroom arrived, and the virgin was introduced to him at the head of the same ceremonious procession described above, only in the latter part of the day. Almost the whole district was collected together to celebrate the marriage, and partook plenteously of the provisions collected for
[585 the occasion. At the close of the festival, the attendant women took the modest bride, who was seated by the side of her husband, by the hand, and gracefully conducted her in procession through the range of guests, to an apartment prepared for the occasion: to which he also soon retired; whilst the numerous visitors spent the night in entertainments and dances.

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These dances were performed with admirable skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate. The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy: which terminated only with the dawn.

After amusing ourselves for many days, on this Island, and receiving the most friendly attentions from the chiefs, Mulkaamair's son fixed a period for our return; and a number of canoes assembled to accompany us.

At day-break, we took leave of the old chief, whom we had visited, and his young female relation, whom I had espoused, and sailed off for Tongataboo, which lay at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. The canoes sailed at the rate of six or seven miles in an hour, and brought us to the shores of Tonga, in the evening; where we all repaired to our respective districts.

I was charmed on my return, with the flourishing appearance of my plantation. The bread-fruit, cocoa, and plantain trees had already shot forth branches, which promised, ere long, to cast around them a friendly shade. Some bread-fruit trees, almost as large as the oak, had indeed spread their sheltering arms, for years, near the spot where I built my fallee; and now their fruits hung in clus-

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days, then went back to Ha'akio again. He conjured up some excuse to talk to the girl's mother and to Sepi herself. 584

For the following three months he visited Ha'akio, usually once each week. He discussed marriage with Sepi and when she seemed agreeable, he proceeded to discuss the matter further with her father and relatives. They looked with disfavour on his suit, alleging that he was too young. Probably they were unsure as yet whether this was the best marriage that Sepi could make. After this rebuff, Biukala tried to persuade Sepi to agree to a runaway marriage. She would not, insisting that Biukala must try again to obtain her relatives' assent, as was the proper Tongan custom. [583]

By this time Biukala decided that strong measures were necessary if anything was to come of his courtship. He persuaded his father and four of the older men of his family to go to Ha'akio and consult with the menfolk of Sepi's family. Biukala stayed in Pangai. The men took with them the largest sized root of *kava*, a forty-pound tin of biscuits, and some mats, as a present to Sepi's household. After an all-day *kava*-session together with much discussion, Sepi's family was persuaded to agree to the marriage. This took place the following week. It was the biggest marriage-feast ever held in Pangai. Sepi's father provided about fifty pigs. Biukala's father, feeling that the honour of his household was at stake, added a further seventy pigs to the celebration. 585 574

In elaborating on the virtues of Sepi, Biukala noted that her household was fairly wealthy in pigs and food, that Sepi had spent ten years in a mission-school in Neiafu. She had been well trained in both the arts of Tonga and of the white woman. She was skilful at making *kava*, mats, and bark cloth. She could also cook white man's food, could knit and wash clothes. She was industrious, clean, and had had plenty of experience in bringing up the numerous younger children in her household. Biukala never remarked about his wife's beauty. According to village ideals, indeed, she had little. 584 581 [832]

This account of Biukala emphasizes many facets of village-culture today. There is no suggestion of romantic love. There is a cool weighing of advantages before courtship begins. There is interest in securing a mate who has had opportunity to learn some of the white woman's skills. Knowing her worth in this connection, the girl's family is 584 178

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584 178 not interested in letting her marry the first man who chances to come along. The marriage itself, therefore, is decided upon, not by the young people, but by the older men of the two households. The two young people are sufficiently concerned with older Tongan ways not to cut an apparent knot by elopement and thus to anger their elders.

MARRIAGE

583 585 [588] From our household-census it is possible to present a rough statistical picture of the marital status of all the adults in the village. There are thirty-nine couples living together as man and wife. Of this number, thirty-five couples are married. The marriage ceremonies of these thirty-five couples are of two types. Civil- and church-registrations account for nineteen couples, civil- and church-registrations plus old-time Tongan-style celebrations of the marriage, account for the remaining sixteen couples. Of these thirty-five marriages, twenty-three are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twelve marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriage in this category and the number of each are: Single man with divorcée, two; divorcé with single woman, five; widower with single woman, three; widower with widow, two. Of these twelve marriages, therefore, ten are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. [586] [587] It is thus clear that a previous marriage terminated by death or divorce is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

586 [435] The cost of a divorce in Tonga is ten pounds per mate, or twenty pounds per divorce. This sum represents the amount that it would take an average householder almost two years to earn by cutting copra on his plantation. It is 586 588 only to be expected therefore, that many unhappy Tongan marriages end not by divorce but by an informal separation which allows the mates to set up unblessed unions with others 588 in like circumstances. If these unions become permanent, the mates are tacitly assumed by the villagers to be as-if married, the children as-if legitimate. The village attitude is more one of pity for misfortune than anything else. There is never any comment, scandal, or gossip about such unions.

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582 and because of a considerable freedom in inter-village visiting, there is a strong tendency for mates to be chosen from villages other than Pangai. However, although mates chosen from local Pangai girls are in a bare minority, there are nonetheless frequent instances when Pangai men marry Pangai girls.

Cross Cousins

582 565 Cross-cousin marriage is not uncommon among the chiefly and noble class in Tonga. There is no record of such marriage however, among any of the married couples in Pangai.[22] None of our informants in this commoner village would ever entertain the idea that it was a possible pattern of marriage-relationship. They all felt it impossible for 582 565 602 605 them, whatever might be the customs of the nobles, because of the fact that there is strong kinship-avoidance from puberty onward between those classed as cross-cousins, and none would feel happy in breaking down this attitude of avoidance in the intimacies of married life. This suggests the point that cross-cousin marriage among the noble class [152] might well result in acute psychological conflict brought about by the clash of incompatible attitudes: a *tapu* on intimacy between these cousins up to marriage, the necessity of breaking down this *tapu* when marriage occurs. The acuteness of this conflict would obviously depend on the strength with which kinship-avoidances are inculcated in the minds of the young, especially in the minds of those for whom parents contemplated a cross-cousin marriage. Possibly the culture elaborates some fiction to take care of this problem, but there are no hints in the literature to suggest what form 582 565 this fiction might take. In any case, the culture of the commoner can side-step such possible conflicts because of the fact that it refuses to countenance cross-cousin marriage.

Marriage Ceremony

585 198 The patterns governing the marriage ceremony in the village today show a natural blending of the old and the new.

[22] Cross-cousin marriage, according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 16) "was practised, especially among people of rank." He adds that "such marriages were no doubt common . . . in the rank and file of the Tongan population."

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585 [128] This may be best emphasized by outlining the formal marriage ceremony and then giving a short case-study to show the limit of variations on the pattern.

585 583 431 In any formal marriage, much preparation is concerned with the collection of the necessary gifts, transfer of which in the old days constituted the validation of the marriage relationship and which today are still necessary if the marriage is performed according to rule. These gifts are collected together by the father of the groom. They consist of a ceremonial skirt *(vala to'onga)*, six or more specially-made sleeping mats, quantities of bark cloth and clothing. The mats have taken years to make. They have been specially made for some future marriage and have been carefully stored away until needed. Relatives may be asked to contribute further fine mats, in which case they are later repaid with return-gifts of mats. The gifts are all brought together in the house of the groom's father and the bride and her relatives are invited to inspect the display. The groom's father must also bring together great quantities of food, pigs, and *kava*. This preliminary collection may well take a week or more to complete.

585 [292] When all is ready, the groom's sisters escort the bride to the groom's father's house. There the groom's mother dresses the bride in a *vala* which consists of a four-fathom length of bark cloth. The bride returns to her own house, bathes and dries her body with the bark cloth *vala*. She again returns to the groom's father's house where the father has prepared a small feast. She is accompanied this time by her mother and her mother's sisters. All eat. Then the bride and groom together with a party of relatives go to Neiafu to secure the civil marriage-license. They return to [793] Pangai, eat more food, and proceed to the church where [435] the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. The marriage license costs eight shillings, the marriage ceremony whatever the groom can afford to give the pastor—ten shillings would be a more than adequate gift from the ordinary family. After this the groom goes to his father's [292] house, the bride to her father's house where she dresses in the ceremonial *vala* provided by the groom's father.

All meet again at the groom's father's house where the gifts of mats and bark cloth have been piled high outside

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585 the house. On these mats are sitting the groom's mother's
585 brother (his *fa'e tangata*, called at this time his *fa'e huki*,
604 "lap mother"), and the bride's mother's younger sister. The groom sits in the lap of his mother's brother, the bride in the lap of her mother's sister. They continue to sit thus until the *kava* drinking is finished.

585 *Kava* is made and drunk with special ceremony. The
276 bowl is placed before the bride and groom. It is the largest possible bowl and in front of the bowl is the largest possible root of *kava (kava toho)*.[23] The *kava* and the accompanying food are provided by the fathers of both bride and groom. Four men out of the group of those present (termed collectively *tou'a*) are selected to prepare the *kava*-root. The root is cut carefully into three sections. The middle section
[777] is laid aside because it brings bad luck to use it. From the two end pieces, the drink is prepared after these pieces have been scraped and cleaned. Two sets of pounding-stones are set on two mats and two men of the group of four slowly pound the *kava* root into small pieces. The groom invites an expert to make the *kava*. He sits before the bowl and prepares the drink from the root as it is passed to him by the pounders. The expert makes great display of skill as he goes through the routine of *kava* making.

585 When the *kava* is ready, the person who is presiding over
276 the circle calls for the *kava*-relish *(fono kava)*. The largest
276 pig *(puaka toho)* is divided in such fashion that the back is
574 presented to the bride's father's sister's child (the bride's
262 *fahu*) and the remainder is divided equally among all the
[605] other members of the *kava* circle. Food from the oven is also divided among all those present. Neither pork nor other food may be eaten at this time. It is taken home and eaten after the *kava*-drinking is finished. Now the *kava*-cups are called and after the first round is finished the bride and groom leave the group.

[804] [23] *Kava* roots are classified in size and named with the same size terms that are applied to pigs. Thus there is *kava toho, kava hula, kava ha'amo, kava fuataha*, just as there are pigs—*puaka toho, puaka hula*, etc. A feast at which a pig of the largest size is served, a *puaka toho*, must also serve a *kava toho, kava* of the largest size, and so on in gradations for size of pig, size of *kava* and status of feast.

585 The marriage is usually consummated on the night of this same day. Relatives of bride and groom meet together [602] at the groom's house. They eat, drink *kava* and sing songs [574] for part of the night. In another room of the house or in the same room but in a section of the house screened off by bark cloth partitions, the marriage is consummated. In the morning care is taken to inspect the bedding or clothing of the bride. If she is proved to have been a virgin, the groom's [574] father immediately prepares a further large feast which he presents to the bride's mother as a symbol of gratitude for her successful efforts in preserving the chastity of his son's bride.

585 Bride and groom are now considered safely and 833 successfully married. According to village pattern, they have intercourse at least twice each night. The customary position is the prone position with the man above. Less frequent intercourse is excused, just a shade shamefully, on the grounds that the bones of the wife are too small and [841] weak. There are no *tapu* against intercourse during the menstrual period.

585 The aftermath of all this feasting and gift giving may 526 often weigh heavily on the families of the bride and groom. They must see to it that relatives who have contributed pigs, mats, and food are repaid in kind. If the marriage has not been prepared for many months in advance, then repayment may have to be made over many successive months after the marriage. Insofar as every effort is made to establish the [554] status of the groom's family in terms of the quantities of food and gifts displayed and consumed, the obligations incurred may often assume for the groom's household a crippling burden of responsibility that necessitates great labour and planning before all the obligations are finally cleared away.

585 So far the description has been in terms of formal 178 pattern. The following example of an actual marriage may now be presented to show both additions and limitations on the pattern:

584 One day Paula, aged nineteen, came to tell his older 593 brother Tui that he wished to marry the girl Meletautuli of the nearby village of Toula. Tui is considered much more mature and sensible than the still older brother Kali. Hence

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the family always defers to Tui and consults him in preference to his older brother although the latter is theoretically the head of the family. Tui at first refused to allow the marriage on the grounds that Paula was too young. Paula persisted in his request until Tui gave his assent. Then Paula asked permission to marry from his own mother's brother *(fa'e tangata)*, Semisi. Semisi was agreeable. Finally Paula was sent to obtain the permission of his father's brother (his own father was dead). This permission too, was given, and the date fixed by the father's brother for the next day. All Meletautuli's relatives agreed to the marriage also. Had any of the parties consulted been unwilling, the marriage would have been postponed.

On the day following all this consultation, Paula together with Tui, Kali, and some friends visited Paula's father's brother at his home in the nearby village of Toula carrying a gift of six large yams, ten giant-sized *taro*, and three small pigs. At about the same time, Melenaite (not to be confused with the bride Meletautuli) who is Paula's mother's sister, sent Fa (another sister of Paula's mother), Litea (Paula's own sister), Loise (mother's younger sister's daughter of Eniketi, Tui's wife), and Pohiva (Kali's wife) to the village of Toula to prepare Paula's ceremonial marriage-skirt *(vala)*. The women took with them about one fathom of white bark cloth, one fine plaited mat of the type known as *fihu*, and five plaited mats of the kind called *kie*. The bark cloth and mats were all owned by Melenaite. In Toula, Meletautuli's mother had already got together the four *kie* mats that were to serve as the bride's ceremonial skirt. After eating and *kava* drinking, the party all set out for Neiafu to secure the marriage license. When they arrived at the town, it was discovered that the bride was only seventeen years old. Her mother was sent for to give permission to the marriage. The license was then issued, Tui paying the fee of six shillings. Then the group went to the church where the religious ceremony was performed. Again Tui paid the fee, this time the sum of four shillings. Tui then hired a motor lorry to carry the party back to Toula. For the truck-hire he paid three shillings.

After the arrival back at Toula, an oven was opened, the food laid out on coconut-leaf mats, and all sat down to

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585 [574] eat. Most of the party then returned to Pangai, but the bride and groom, chaperoned by Fa stayed in Toula until evening. At this time, this second group returned to Pangai together with the remainder of the bride's family. Mele, [292] the bride, was wearing her ceremonial skirt, the rest of the party carrying the sleeping outfit *(mohenga)* which is her [513] gift to her husband. This outfit consisted of two sleeping-[556] mats, two small coverings of bark cloth, two pillows and a basket in which her ceremonial skirt will be kept (this [565] outfit, incidentally, is rather poor; a wealthier commoner girl would have at least twelve sleeping-mats in her outfit as well as many fathoms of bark cloth).

585 574 276 In Pangai the wedding party met at Semisi's house (the mother's brother of the groom). Tui's wife, Eniketi, brought a small piece of bark cloth suitable for a skirt. This she placed round the bride's waist after removing the one the bride was already wearing. Semisi had meanwhile prepared a feast. It consisted of four large yams, four giant *taro*, and a small pig. While the food was cooking, a *kava*-circle was formed. It consisted of four women including the bride and eleven men, all relatives of the bride and groom. The groom Paula, pounded the root while the woman Loise made the *kava*. The cups of *kava* were called by the groom's mother's mother's sister's son. When the *kava* was finished, the oven was opened and all went outside to eat. This was about nine o'clock in the evening.

[533] [535] More *kava* was served inside the house. There was singing and solo-dancing by the bride's younger sister until two o'clock in the morning. When she finished dancing, the younger sister was given a small bark-cloth skirt by Eniketi. At this time all the *kava* was finished and the bride's group 585 returned to their own village of Toula. Tui and his wife 833 slept at one end of the house while the bride and groom slept at the other end of the house. There was no intercourse on this night nor for the four following nights (five nights in all). Intercourse with a virgin is termed *fai hono api*, "to make or cultivate a plantation" (the more general term for intercourse being *unoho*)—an obvious reference to a metaphorical planting of seed in the woman—and in village theorizing, a groom shows his respect and affection for his bride by waiting five nights or six or longer for his

first intercourse; the longer the period of waiting, the greater the affection.

On Friday, Tui made a small feast for his family. On Sunday he again made another feast, larger this time. It consisted of ten giant *taro*, four large yams and two large pigs (of the third size, *ha'amo*). Many of the bride's family came to Pangai from Toula bringing with them gifts of mats: Vikai, a distant relative of the bride, brought five *kie*-mats for the groom's ceremonial skirt; the bride's mother brought four *kie*-mats for the bride. These mats were put on and the whole group went to the church service. After the service, another relative of the bride presented her with one length of bark cloth and one *kie*-skirt, other relatives doing likewise later in the day. All these mats and bark cloth presented to the couple by both bride and groom's relatives became part of the "trousseau" outfit of the married couple. They will be stored up, used as required, and then passed on as gifts to other relatives when they in turn get married. The bark cloth may in time wear out, but it is replaced by the bark cloth that the bride will herself make. The mats will last for many years and thus play their part in the endless chain of reciprocal gift-giving whereby the kinship bonds are strengthened and validated by consensually-accepted symbols.

Following upon this presentation, which always consists of the giver's taking off the garment the recipient is wearing and substituting for it the garment which is presented, the oven was opened. All the food was presented to the bride's family who immediately wrapped the food up in coconut-containers and set off for their home village carrying the food with them.

On the following Tuesday night the marriage was finally consummated. The bride was too exhausted to rise the next morning, but Tui's wife noticed that there was blood on her dress. Tui immediately set to work to make a further oven consisting of three yams, eight giant *taro*, and one pig. Word was sent to the bride's mother who came hurrying over from Toula accompanied by her sisters. The oven was opened, food eaten, and remains packed up by the mother when she returned to Toula. For the following seven nights

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585 [591] the bride and groom slept at Semisi's house. Thereafter they went to live with the bride's family in Toula on a sort of extended visit.

585 178 [177] This marriage as just described shows very clearly the blending of old and new. The feasting and gift-giving are Tongan, the civil registration and church-marriage originally white importations, though now none of the villagers but conceives them as anything but right and natural. The necessity for the young people to obtain the consent of their elders before the marriage can be carried out is also well [833] illustrated. Finally, the custom of delaying intercourse for a noticeable period after the marriage ceremony is still strongly observed as one of the customs which no villager would think of breaking.

ELOPEMENT

584 It is obvious from the foregoing accounts of marriage that the elders may and do decide whether a marriage shall occur. Their decision is generally based on a cool calculation [581] of compatibility together with such matters as reputation for industry, relative wealth of the family of the groom, and other materialistic factors. The elders must also be prepared, should they assent to the marriage, with suitable quantities of food and mats for the celebration of the 584 marriage. Many young people today rebel against this 561 domination by their elders, and many elders (it must be 178 admitted) are not unhappy over this rebellion if it saves them in the expenditure of food and gifts necessary for the proper Tongan marriage. Elopements and marriages with- 584 583 out consent of parents are therefore becoming not uncommon in the village. This is shown by the fact already mentioned, 178 that of thirty-five marriages studied, sixteen only were full-style Tongan marriages, the remaining nineteen being civil- and church-registrations only, without the benefit of gift-giving and feasting.

583 593 Two young people who marry without consent of their parents may return to Pangai if they feel that the anger of their parents is not too great to be faced, or else they may find shelter with distant relatives or friends in far-away villages if parents' ire is great, only returning to Pangai

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Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of children.[35] There is as yet no evidence of a European cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the exception that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral proceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice, before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously informal, has now become institutionalized by the establishment of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the content of this system are based on European models, the language of instruction is Tongan. This means that whatever changes are introduced into the village culture by the ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonetheless he is still viewing this culture through the medium of his own native language. The basis of communication within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and language-patterns which are given formal structure by the

[35] Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other!

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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853 milk, and could only give the children taro, yam, or fish as the first food after weaning. The change in this system of family separation is the cause most commonly quoted by the natives for the high mortality among children.

181 I have said that the Tongans are sticklers for propriety in appearances. In some respects, however, they share with the other Polynesian peoples a gross lack of delicacy. 585 Ancient custom still constrains the elderly female relations of the bridegroom to go home with the married pair and stay with them until they are in a position to prove to the other relations that the marriage is satisfactory, and that the dower is therefore due.

186 All the weaknesses of pride of race that we laugh at in ourselves, and feel none the less keenly, may be studied 186 among these other islanders of the antipodes. There is a 167 Tongan colony in Fiji, the children of the army of occu- 829 pation taken over by Maafu in 1848. The real Tongans patronise their colonials, and speak of them behind their backs as barbarians, ignorant of the usages of polite society. The colonists affect to ridicule the Tongan aristocracy as effete and effeminate, and envy them in secret, bestowing on them the involuntary flattery of imitation. A Tongan colonist who has been to Nukualofa and conversed with the great of the earth returns home to be a nuisance to his fellows, who try to disguise their feeling of inferiority by disparagement of the intercourse which they so much envy. Thus, as between the English and the Australians, a gulf is gradually being fixed between the Tongans of 186 Tonga and Fiji. Not less instructive is the feeling 829 between the Tongans and the Fijians. While affecting 648 to despise the Fijians for their want of refinement, the

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
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meeting grumbling, and departed, each to his own home. The king, boycotted by all but his immediate adherents and the relations of his bride, kept close within the palace compound; the marriage feast was but sparsely attended, and the dissatisfaction of the people vented itself in attempts to burn public buildings and the houses of unpopular members of the royal party. The last of these incendiary attempts had occurred shortly before my visit.

Meanwhile, my old acquaintance Mr. Shirley Waldemar Baker, a person so remarkable in the Pacific that it will some day be a public duty to write his biography, had turned up again. Having spent several years in Auckland after his deportation by the High Commissioner, he had made overtures to the Free Church of Tonga to accept him as their president. The Conference considered his application with the utmost gravity, and replied that, while they would be glad to welcome him as a minister, the office of president happened to be filled. That the Church of his own creation should treat him so was more than he could bear, and his next letter was a grim intimation that they would hear of him again. Those who knew him best may have felt an uncomfortable shiver at the threat, but none in

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

MARRIAGE IN TONGA.

By E. E. V. Collocott.

A buggy, gay with floating mat and festooned with flower-decked girdles, drives along the road, and stops before one of the Missions. A girl is assisted to alight; she needs assistance; free action is made impossible by the voluminous folds of native cloth with which she is enveloped from bosom to feet. The bride, for bride she is, is joined by her lover, and together they present themselves before the minister; friends and relatives crowd in after them. They hand over the permit to marry issued by the Government, without which Tongan citizens may not wed. The short Church marriage service is soon finished, certificates are signed, a small fee is collected, and the officiating clergyman, under threat of dire pains of a monetary sort, must attend to registration with due promptitude. Usually no ring is given, but all the civil and religious procedure is essentially the same as marks the espousals of an English country youth and maid. All is in fact conducted under an English legal instrument which owes its being to the Western Pacific Commission. The civil and religious ceremonies have the same validity as in England, to confer legitimacy on offspring, and ensure rights of succession.

In all this there has been nothing Tongan, excepting the great cumbrous dress of native cloth worn by the bride, and the fact that she perhaps drove to and away from the Mission house seated on the knee of one of her relatives. But when the requirements of modern law have been satisfied, bride and bridegroom and relatives hie away home, and in the wedding feast perform in essence the ancient marriage ceremony, which is an exchange of food and other gifts between the relatives of the bride and the relatives of the bridegroom. The ceremony takes place at a house selected by the groom's people, either his own house or one belonging to some other member of his family. Along the front of the house a pretty and cool shelter of green coconut leaves has been erected, a sort of temporary verandah, in which is arranged a heap of mats and native cloth to serve as a dais or throne. The bride awaits her husband in the home of her parents—nowadays she returns thither after the religious marriage service, or if this has taken place too late for the Tongan ceremony to be held on the same day, she will return from her husband's home to her parents on the following day. Both bride

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

Both bride and bridegroom are prepared for each other by bathing and anointing with sweet-scented oil, and are clad in fine mats and cloth. On both sides pigs are killed and cooked, and all the usual preparations made for feasting. The lavishness of the feast, and the amount of cloth and mats collected, are indications of the wealth and station of the families. When all is ready the bridegroom, accompanied by a man or woman who is called his "mother" *fae*, and who must be a member of his mother's, or his mother's mother's brother's family, goes to the bride's home, and finds her adorned and waiting for him. She too is attended by a "mother" of her mother's, or mother's mother's brother's family. A procession is formed. Bride and bridegroom lead, closely followed by the "mothers" bearing baskets in which are bottles of oil, wherewith they continually anoint the couple lest the oil dry on them. Then come the bride's female relatives, bearing the mats and cloth which her folk have prepared for the wedding; and last are her male kin with the food, including a special basket called the *veifua*, distinctive of weddings and funerals, and which is the principal food offering of the ceremony. When the party reaches the house the "mothers" seat themselves on the dais of mats under the shelter of greenery, and bride and bridegroom sit on their respective "mothers'" laps. The house is filled with women connected with the bride, no men are there, their place is with the food, which is their especial care. Presently a woman is called from the house. She approaches the bride, assists her to rise, and leads her by the hand into the house, where the women divest her of her clothes. The practice nowadays, whatever older custom may have been, is for the girl to wear inner garments which are not disturbed, but she is stripped of native cloth and mats and her wedding dress of European material. This clothing has been provided by the bride's family, and will subsequently fall to the share of the bridegroom's people. She is then arrayed in clothing, inferior in quality and quantity to that taken from her, but still good, provided by the bridegroom, and led forth again to her "mother's" lap; but presently another woman is called from the house to come and lead her in. Again she is undressed, and clothed afresh in raiment given by the husband. The clothing taken from her on this second occasion is for the bride's people. Then she is taken out to her seat on her "mother's" lap. If the bridegroom is wealthy the bride may be dressed in several fresh changes, all the dresses given by the groom being gifts to the bride's family. Usually two changes suffice. Then the *kava* is beaten up, the bowl being placed at a convenient distance off in front of the dais. When the *kava* is ready for drinking, but before it has been served, the husband and his "mother" rise and go into the house, where the women undress him, putting aside his clothing for the bride's family. He is dressed again in clothes, of

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

good quality and including fine mats, of his own provision, and a girdle of sweet-smelling leaves and flowers is put around his neck. He goes out and stands midway between the *kava* bowl and the mat dais, and a woman who is *fahu** on the bride's side calls the name of some important personage of the bride's father's family to go and take the bridegroom's dress. The bridegroom may either be alone, or accompanied by his "mother." The one named at once steps forth and takes immediate possession. The bridegroom then returns to the house, and when he has been garbed anew, comes once more into the space between the *kava* bowl and dais, and the *fahu* calls someone of the bride's mother's family to be the recipient of the second dress. Possession is at once taken as before. This may be repeated twice more, the third set of clothes going to the bride's father's, and the fourth to the bride's mother's family, but as a rule the first and second presentations are sufficient. The bridegroom finally comes forth from the house garbed in raiment which the *fahu* subsequently claims for herself, but which is meanwhile worn by the groom. This dress is called the dress for serving *kava*. The *kava* is now served, the bridegroom taking the cups round, whilst the bride sits under the canopy, and has presented to her the third, the chief, cup. She is the chief on this occasion. The food distributed with the *kava* is the largest pig in the baskets brought by the bridegroom's family, and the back, the chiefly portion, is laid before the bride. As in other *kava* ceremonial the food is not eaten by those to whom it is presented, but is borne off by certain people who are *fahu* to the several recipients.

After the *kava* has been drunk the food is distributed, that provided by the bride's people amongst the groom's family, and that given by the man amongst the bride's folk. Similarly the mats and cloth are exchanged between the families. The bridegroom has nominally the disposal of that given by the bride's relatives, and the bride of the presentations of her husband's folk, but very little of it will fall to their share. The distribution will probably not be made on the day of the wedding feast, but at some convenient time a little later. Meanwhile the mats and cloth given by the man's party are taken home by the bride's parents, and kept till she can go and attend to their disposal. Amongst regular wedding gifts are candlenuts and towels of native cloth, which are presented to both bride and bridegroom several days before the ceremony, to serve them in their preparatory ablutions. Candlenuts are ground in the mouth, and used as a detergent. There is no obligation to use these gifts

* The *fahu* is extremely important in Tongan society. It is a relative who has wide rights and authority over a man, namely his sister, or his father's sister, or their children.

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

585 for their ostensible purpose, and indeed the chances are that they will not be so used, but will be donated to friends with the other gifts. The bride's relatives, moreover, bring mats nominally to serve as a couch for the children that shall be born of the union. These mats, however, are not retained by the happy couple, but are shared out in the general distribution.

Mention has been made of the *reifua*, the special basket of food. As this is borne to the site of the ceremony the most important person on the groom's side approaches and takes the liver and eats it, or gives it to whomsoever he will, or else marks his consequence by striking the basket or its pig with his hand. This basket falls to the lot of the *fahu* of the bridegroom, probably to his sister.

[593] [604]

When the ceremony is finished, the bride and bridegroom, who have probably nothing of the food provided for the wedding, have a quiet meal together *en famille*, and their domestic life has fairly begun.

[264]

One other ceremony remains, that connected with the bride's virginity. The man who has married a maiden awaits a suitable opportunity, and prepares a large basket of food which he presents to her parents. He also gives them the mat bearing the sign of her virginity. With increasing refinement of manners the practice is gaining ground of substituting for this a simple present of a fine mat. Elderly female relatives sometimes sleep with the newly married, and if an old woman interested in the maiden suspects that her credentials are not as sound as they should be she may preserve her reputation by a little pious fraud.

585 622 The high chief Tukuaho, who died towards the close of the nineteenth century, left a diary in which is an interesting account of the older procedure followed at the marriage of a great chief. In essence the ceremony is identical with the foregoing description of a modern wedding; but the bridegroom is represented as going by night with a large following of his people, and bringing his bride home with loud shouts and exclamations. Amongst the exclamations said to be proper to the occasion is gibberish, untranslatable as either Tongan or Samoan, but which seems to be misrendered Samoan, and to contain references to rites of Samoan marriage which found no place in Tongan ceremony. William Mariner, who spent four years in Tonga in the early part of the nineteenth century, saw a high chief married with Samoan rites, though a portion of the Samoan ceremonial was omitted, and it may well be that Samoan marriage customs came to have a certain vogue in fashionable circles. The diarist speaks of these high society functions being extended over several days, and being graced with various dances.

585 622 177

582 622 Although marriages, especially of chiefs, are frequently arranged by the elders, yet the youths and girls have considerable freedom in

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the choice of their partners. The young man anticipates the interview with the lady's parents with much the same feelings of confidence or trepidation as animate the breast of his European contemporary in like circumstances. It is not always the good will of the girl's own father that must be won, as his inclinations may often be overborne by his elder brothers, or by his sisters—the "brothers" and "sisters" may of course be cousins near or distant—who are his superiors in the family conclave. The chances are that the lovers' wishes will be met, but the young lady does not as a rule pine in the face of an adverse decision, and the disappointed swain is more likely to find comfort in the reflection that there are other pebbles on the beach, than to indulge gloomy musings upon the unkind fate that has stood between him and his soul-mate. 582 [622] [602]

Occasionally head strong youth refuses to acquiesce in the parental prohibition, and the lovers elope. If they are both of age the Government permit to marry cannot be withheld, the religious ceremony follows as a matter of course, and the happy, or almost happy, couple wait with a confidence, which experience usually shows to be well founded, that the resentment of their kin will be short-lived, and that, like the philosophers they are, they will accept the inevitable, and acknowledge the undutiful son and daughter by a performance of the proper nuptial rites. 583

The youth who goes a-courting is frequently moved to call the muse to his aid, and to tell his adoration in "songs of sweet-scented flowers," compositions which, though rather rough in form, display much poetic feeling both for love and some of the beauties of nature. 584 533

The old practice seems to have been for the matron's hair to be cut differently from the maiden's. The virgin wore two long locks at the back of the head, but at marriage these were cut off, and the hair then allowed to grow an equal length all over the head. Although marriage was marked by extensive ritual the bond was easily terminable. No life-long guarantees were expected or given. Late in the eighteenth century one of the artisans in the party sent by the London Missionary Society to Tonga fell in love with a Tongan girl, and a date was fixed for the marriage. Previous to the ceremony the missionaries explained to the young lady the nature of the bond she was about to contract, but at the mention of a life-long union she promptly refused to go on with the matter. She was quite prepared for a union for as long as their mutual liking dictated, but would not be bound "till death do you part." 302 884 836 585 586

The great chiefs had numerous harems, but it cannot be inferred that there was any degrading inferiority of women. The Tongan, indeed, is justly proud of the position which his women-folk have always enjoyed. Genealogies show that great ladies frequently had many lovers. The system was free and easy, and the women fared 595 562

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

as well as the men. The structure of society provided in practice the independence of women, which is the dream of some modern feminists. It is necessary for the European to rid his mind of associations of nastiness in dealing with these matters, and to remember that the Polynesian receives the facts connected with the handing on of human life with the same simple candour as the phenomena observed in his garden or anywhere else. I have overheard a man, whose domestic life is impeccable judged by strict European standards, discussing the numerous loves of a famous chiefly lady of bygone days, and his comment was what an extraordinarily fine woman she must have been to be desirable in the eyes of so many husbands, to all of whom she bore children.

In general it was probably an honour for a girl to attract the attention of a chief of high rank, and apart from marriages marked by the elaborate exchange of gifts, there were many less formal unions, which did not lead to a girl becoming a regular inmate of a chief's compound. A girl who is taken to a chief is sometimes said to "roll his mat," indicating her duty of rolling up the sleeping-mats and making herself generally useful about the person of her lord. A village used sometimes to select a beautiful maiden to be the temporary mate of a chief, and bear them a babe of lofty lineage. The child was called by a special name indicating that he belonged to the whole village. Children are desired by both men and women. In the marriage ceremonies described in Tukuaho's diary there is a blessing of the bride, "And may you bear children, yea twins."

For a man to succumb to the attractions of a girl of inferior rank is not uncommon, but for a woman to condescend to an inferior is rare; or it may be expressed in another way, that a man would scarcely dare aspire to a lady of superior station to himself. Such aspirations would be resented by other men as offensively presumptuous. This led to the frequent marriage of the female Tui Tonga, the highest woman of all excepting her own daughter, to a foreigner. It is only in a comparatively recent period that the genealogies exhibit certain cases of the marriage of this august lady, and in these instances the bridegroom always belongs to one or two houses of Fijian extraction. The first recorded marriage of a female Tui Tonga is to a chief who actually came from Fiji; but the outside blood once introduced sufficed to give the house enough of foreignness to exempt its members from the restrictions that bound the Tongan, and to provide bridegrooms for the exalted brides. This lady must have been so restricted in the choice of a husband as to have been generally a strict monogamist. It was not uncommon for the wife of a chief to obtain other wives for him, usually it would seem, selected from amongst her own younger female relatives over whom she had power or influence. These secondary brides were

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595 622 The rank of the children of the various wives of a chief depended on that of their mothers. In the case of two wives of equal rank the elder normally took precedence of the younger, and her children over those of the younger woman. A wife might so win her husband's affections as to cause him to grant precedence to her children over those of an elder woman of equal rank, but favouritism could scarcely avail to elevate the children of a specially beloved wife above those of a higher chieftainess. A special term was used for the principal wife.

831 832 [778] [776] [585] [554] Many stories are told of handsome men, called *mana'ia*, possessed of *mana*, supernatural power, whose charms were irresistible to the ladies. The patron of these boudoir knights was Jinilau, the god of beauty, whose gift their handsome persons were, and who were themselves sometimes even called Jinilau. The custom obtained, and is more or less perpetuated in modern marriages, for a maiden to present a particular mat to the man to whom she gave her virgin love, and the prestige of the *mana'ia* was in proportion to the number of these trophies he had won.

The *mana'ia* was prepared for his amorous calling with the carefulness of an aspirant to a learned profession or an athletic championship. His friends and relatives, male and female, omitted no attention that should increase his attractiveness. All that was demanded of him was that he should look well, and fascinate the ladies. [554] High rank, though valued, was not indispensable; but it is [565] obviously improbable that the profession of lover could have been open to men of very humble birth. Even personal courage and 831 prowess were not essential—merely good looks. The name and fame 832 of notable male beauties are perpetuated in tale and proverb, and 538 extraordinary sway over ladies' hearts is ascribed to them. It is related that a chieftainess was about to be married to a great lord; the nuptials indeed had commenced, and the guests were seated on [304] the first evening of the ceremonies in a house with the bride. A specially favoured *mana'ia*, who desired the girl for himself, thrust his hand, on which was tattooed a distinctive mark, through a hole [584] in the thatch roof. The bride-elect, thus apprised of who awaited her without, slipped from the house, and eloped with the *mana'ia*. [554] I am told that the *mana'ia* had no real status in Tongan social organisation; but that families forwarded the interests of their handsome men merely to assist them to form advantageous connections, and collect large quantities of mats and cloth, in which they all might share. The first holder of the great Tungi title was [555] called Tungi Mana'ia, and tradition ascribes his elevation to exalted [644] rank to his personal attractiveness, but the genealogies show that this is a mistaken notion, as in his veins flowed the highest chiefly blood of Tonga. The present Tungi is the consort of the reigning Queen.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

boy's head seems to have been cut. This practice of leaving a long lock is now obsolescent. One still sees it, but not frequently. It is said that the hair of the girls used to be cut short on the crown and left long at the sides, but that at puberty the hair was cut the same length all over and then allowed to grow. This treatment of the girl's hair has become even more rare than the boy's long lock and I am unable to say that I have seen any undoubted example.

Amongst the gifts at a wedding are mats, presented by the bride's relatives, on which the young couple shall lay their children when born. The happy pair rarely, if ever, use this thoughtful gift for its ostensible purpose, and indeed do not keep it for themselves at all, but let it go in the general distribution of presents at the wedding ceremony. For some days prior to the marriage of high chiefs, the length of time varying according to the period before the guests begin to arrive, native cloth for towels, and candle-nuts (with which the Tongans prepare a favorite detergent) are presented to both bride and bridegroom. The interesting statement has been made that the cloth and mats used by the bride in bathing were afterwards given to the bridegroom, but this has been categorically denied by the chief whose marriage called forth the statement, and as few have taken a deeper interest in ancient Tongan ceremonial, or are better versed in it, his ignorance of any such practice cannot be lightly set aside. In his opinion the cloth and candle-nuts were presented to the bride and bridegroom for them to cleanse and beautify themselves for each other. He added that there is always the possibility that they will not be so used, and that in any case they are distributed to the guests with the other presents. It should be added that the portion of the wedding gifts which ultimately falls to the lot of the bride and bridegroom may be very small.

It is time, however, to return to our new-born infant, whose cord has not yet been cut. The cutting of the cord was performed by the male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord conveniently, and as paterfamilias struck it asunder with an axe he uttered a wish for the future career of the child—that a boy might grow up a great warrior or fisherman, that a girl might be beautiful, and so forth. The paternal benediction not infrequently called for

539 King's allotment. There was such a large amount of food and gifts that it almost covered the whole town of Mu'a. The King's people were amazed at what they saw, and they realized that it all had been done by some supernatural power.

Fataimoeloa then made a *vākai* (garment used on special occasions) for Sisimataela'a and she put the *kie tonga* that she had made earlier on top of the *vākai*.

[585] From that time on, the *kie tonga* has been worn on top of the wedding *vala*.

Thus at this wedding, the *koloa* and *'umu* of the groom's party were far greater than those of the bride's people. When Sisimataela'a's people brought their offerings, the *Tu'i Tonga* told them, "After you have put your *'umu* and *koloa* in place, you may all come and sit in the *'alofi* (ceremonial *kava* circle usually reserved for chiefs)."

[574] That is why even now, the descendants of these people can sit in the *'alofi* after they have made their presentations. They were given this privilege because they were considered to be supernatural beings.

When all the wedding ceremonies were over, Sisimataela'a took the packet *Mala* and opened it. There came at once a strong wind which cleared the town of all the rubbish left over from the festivities. It also took away the *falehau*; but the people whom *Monu* had brought were left to care for Sisimataela'a.

And so Sisimataela'a and Fatafehi lived happily at Olotele. In time, Fatafehi had a beautiful baby boy, and they named the baby Fakatou'io, which means "yes to both." The name was given to the child because if anyone asked, "Is he a god?" the answer would be

[p. 36-A] [i.e., a fine mat--Analyst.]

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece

Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

Fakafotu have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

The father is privileged to choose the name giver for his children. The first born baby, regardless of sex, is always named by the father's relations, with a special preference to the father's sister, irrespective of residence. Since the second and the subsequent children are inferior in birth significanc to the first baby, the father may then grant a maternal relative's desire to name a child.

VII — Weddings and Funerals

The rank of individuals among *famili* is emphasised on ceremonial occasions such as weddings[21] and funerals. I will describe these ceremonial procedures from the view-point of kinship behaviour.

A boy tells his love to a girl, and if she agrees, he will ask his parents' consent. If they do, he or his father goes to an old man closely related to him to ask his favour of becoming *matapule*. Then he with the boy makes a formal visit, *faitohi*, to the girl's house, taking some *kava teletele* (big roots of *kava*). On *faitohi*, *matapule* tells her father that the boy eagerly wishes to marry the girl. When her father is ready to accept their proposal, he consults with her elder brother or *ulu i famili* as soon as possible. And if he agrees to the matter (and generally the *ulu i famili* will not object), the people concerned confirm the girl's will. The marriage is now arranged. The *kava teletele* brought by the *matapule* is prepared, around which the *matapule* and the girl's parents sit to drink. The first cup of kava is taken to the *ulu i famili* on the girl's side, the second to the *matapule*, the third to anyone present. A few weeks later after *faitohi* the wedding takes plaec.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding-day, the boy's father cooks *umu* and roast pigs to be given to the girl's family. At the sunset, the girl dresses up in formal wear such as *fihu*, *kei* (both, a kind of mat) and *ngatu* (bark cloth). Inside her house is nicely arranged, bark cloths and mats over the floor. Then the boy in formal dress comes with his followers. The *fakalelea mali* begins now. The bride and the groom sit respectively on the laps of their *fa'e tangata*. Sometimes *fakafeangai*, attendants, of the bride and the groom may sit beside them. On this occasion the first *kava* cup is taken by the bride,[22] then by the groom. If they do not want to drink, the *fakafeangai* may drink it in place of them. Drinking *kava*, and eating *fono* (*kava* relish, such as bread, pork and puddings of various kinds, etc.), they spend the time cheerfully chatting until next morning. When *faikava* is nearly over, the bridegroom and his followers take off their clothes to give them to the bride and her family. Through excess of joy, sometimes, they strip themselves of even their trousers and shirts. The bride's people bring bark cloths and clothes to cover them. The bride also takes off her dress to give to the partner.

On the morning of the wedding, they go to the town for registration. Usually they hire two motor cars which they decorate with *kie*. The bride and the bridegroom ride separately with each of their *fa'e tangata*. Other

21. Collocott 1928: 221-5., Beaglehole 1941: 91-93., Koch 1965: 75-81.
22. Collocott writes that the bride who is the chief of this occasion takes the third cup, that is the chief cup. A middle-aged woman told me that the first cup was the chief one.

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relations and friends follow them in motor lorries. Having secured the civil marriage licence from the office, they proceed to the church where the religious ceremony is performed by the pastor. This ceremony should be performed within two weeks after registration at the office. Otherwise, the civil marriage licence will be declared invalid. The registration fee of 6 shillings is paid customarily by the bridegroom's family. Moreover, they pay 8 shillings in case of the Free Wesleyan Church and 2 shillings in other churches, but the fee is free in the Catholic Church. Parents of the new couple stay at each of their homes, making *umu* for the feast, *katoanga mali* which is to be held in this afternoon. On coming back to the village, the new couple rest at their own house for a while to change their clothes. Then the bride proceeds to the place of *katoanga mali* with her attendants who carry pigs, foods cooked in *umu*, bark cloths, mats and so forth. On her way the bridegroom may await her to march together to the banquet place. *Katoanga mali* is usually given at the house of the bridegroom or one of his relations . There mats and bark cloths have been already piled high. On the top of this piled bark cloth, the *fa'e tangata* sits down, on whose lap the bride takes a seat. Another *fa'e tangata* may sit in front of her to keep her feet up. The groom likewise sits on his *fa'e tangata*'s lap. *Faikava* begins now. The bridegroom who takes off his long clothes to make *kava*, serves round the *kava* cup following the order called by the *matapule*. Then the largest pig (*puaka toho*) is cut and the dorsal part is laid in front of the bride. Suddenly her father's sister or her daughter hits it, calling the name of a certain person. The nominee is entitled to eat it. This *faikava* does not last for a long time.

The things to be exchanged between the bride and groom's people are called *koloa*, which consists of bark cloth, mats, *kato alu* (basket made of *alu*), *kali hahapo* (a wooden pillow) and *kali toloni* (a wooden pillow). The *koloa* is the same for men and women, except *kali hahapo* and *kali toloni* which are not usually included in the *koloa* from the men.

After *katoanga mali* is over, the foods left over are divided by the two families. The bride's people go back to their home, leaving her behind alone. In the evening, her mother visits his house to have bark cloth and mats ready for making the bed for the bridal night.

For an observer who would like to collect the data from both sides of the couple, a marriage with both partners from the same villages would be the best to observe. Unfortunately in Nukuleka, a small village, intra-village marriage occurs seldom. Since I was able to know a better example of an intra-village marriage in Longoteme village, a much larger village, of the same island, I would like to have it described here for better understanding the kinship behaviour connected with it. Longoteme is not significantly different from Nukuleka in the custom of marriage.

A boy (S) and a girl (K) were born in Longoteme. One day S told his parents about his wish to marry K, but they were opposed to the match because they thought that he was too young to marry and his elder brother had not married yet. S was nineteen years old and K sixteen at that time. S did not give up his idea, asking his younger sister to support him. At last she succeeded in persuading the parents for her brother.

brother. S asked a man (P) of next door as *matapule*, who was his father's father's brother's son. On the Friday evening, P with S went to K's house for *faitohi*, taking *kava teletele* and a can of biscuits which was prepared by S's mother. K's father had expected their coming and told that it depends on K's wishes. He called his classificatory brother T to his house and explained the proposal. T also replied that she might do as she pleased. Then K was called and asked her own wishes. She was affirmative. Sitting at the corner of the house, S had been keeping silence all the time. Then *faikava* started with *kava teletele* brought by *matapule* P. *Kava* was prepared by K. Her parents, her sister, her *ulu i famili* T, and *matapule* P attended the *faikava*. The cup was offered to her *ulu i famili*, then to the *matapule*. During *kava* they talked and settled several things. They decided not to exchange *koloa* between the two families, but to give them to the young couple, and so on. The date for the wedding had been already chosen by S and K on next Wednesday.

On Tuesday evening S's father made *umu* and brought it with fifty loaves of bread to K's house. Afterwards, S proceeded with many of his relations and friends to this house. His parents, who did not accompany him, came to the banquet place just to peep into the inside of the house and soon went back. Of course, the brothers of the bride as well as the sisters of the groom were not allowed to join the meeting. *Kava* was made by a girl, one of the groom's relatives. The bride was seated on the lap of her mother's brother, Sona, who came from the next village. The groom sat on the lap of his mother's mother's brother's son, Ta. The first cup went to the bride and the next for the groom, but the order of the subsequent cups was not remembered. The arrangement of the seats was not fixed. A number of relations and friends sat round the outside of the house, drinking *kava*, singing and dancing. The next morning after a sleepless yet joyous night the groom and Ta took off their clothes, *ngafi ngafi* and *fihu*, and gave them to the bride. On the other hand, the bride and Sona gave their dresses, *fihu* and bark cloth to the groom. About noon, the party marched to Nuku'alofa for the registration, riding on two motor cars and motor lorries covered with *fihu*. The bride with her *fa'e tangata* and the groom with his father's elder brother, So. On their way back to the home village the newly married couple rode together in the same car. The fee for those cars and lorries was paid half and half by the fathers of the couple.

In the afternoon *katoanga mali* was held at So's place. The groom's father made *umu* with many pigs including one *puaka toho*, most of which were prepared by himself, but a few were offered by T and P (*matapule faitohi*). The bride's father also made *umu*, cooking one *puaka toho*, one *puaka hula* (a larger pig), and few *puaka haano* (a small pig), all of which were prepared by himself. On the *faikava* at *katoanga mali* T, who was a very old man and *ulu i famili* of the bridegroom's father, acted as *matapule* to direct the order of *kava* cup. (Fig. 5). The young couple sat on the laps of the same person as in the *fakalelea mali*. The first *kava* cup went to the bride, the second to a man, her relative. An elder sister of her father hit the *tua*, dorsal part, of *puaka toho* and got it for herself.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

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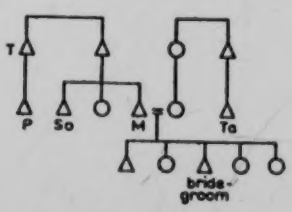
585
601

FIG. 5 The bridegroom and his relatives.



585 The bridegroom changed his clothes five times during the period
292 from *fakalelea mali* to the end of *katoanga mali*, the clothes were presented to those who are mentioned below.

The *vala fakalelea mali* (dress for *fakalelea mali*) of *ngafi ngafi* and *fihu* (both, a kind of mat) were given to the bride. The *vala mali* (dress for the wedding ceremony) of *kie* (a kind of mat) were borrowed from the groom's mother and given back to her later. The *vala katoanga mali* (dress for *katoanga mali*) for the first time, a *fihu* of thirteen feet was given to the bride's mother; for the second time, a *ngatu* of *launima*,[22] to Mrs. Vekune, a noble widow, who was related to the groom's father and attended the feast; for the third time, a *vala fakatau kava* (dress for bringing *kava* cup to the bride) a *ngatu* of ten *langanga* was given to the bride's mother.

His mother prepared all the clothes. Every time he changed his dress, he went back to his house which was quite near to the banquet place. The bride had been wearing *ngatu* of eight *langanga* and *kie* until *katoanga mali* was over. Her mother and the *fa'e tangata* of the groom wore *ngatu* of five *langana*.

While they were in Nuku'alofa, both mothers made up *koloa* respectively for the young couple. The bridegroom's *koloa* consisted of 3 *ngatu*, bark cloth), 1 *kafu* (cover) of 10 *langanga*, 1 *puipui*, (curtain) of 10 *langanga*, 1 *aofi* (sheet) of 8 *langanga*; 3 *fala* (mat), 1 *lotaha* (roughly made mat) of 10 feet, 1 *fala paongo* (a mat made of *paongo* leaves), of 15 feet, 1 *fala tofua* (a mat made of *tofua* leaves) of 15 feet. The bride's *koloa* consisted of 1 *ngatu* (bark cloth) which had been *lautefuhi* (100 *langanga*), but was cut into halves, two *launima* (50 *langanga*); 3 *fala* (mat), 1 *fala paufu* (a mat made of *paufu* leaves), 1 *fala tofua*, 1 *fala fihu*, which had been made by her mother's younger sister several years ago, not for her marriage.

Except for this last article all these *koloa* were made by their mothers.
585 After *katoanga mali* was over, the bride's mother brought additionally some bark cloths and mats to them. The groom's mother also had already arranged almost the same things to offer herself. So she made the bed for the bridal night with enough materials from both families.

Next morning, the groom's mother examined the bark cloth of the bed. She wrapped it with *kie* and took it along with a roasted pig to the

22. *Launima* consists of fifty *langanga*. One *langanga* is about two times as long as the distance between the thumb and the middle fingers of a hand when the fingers are stretched out in opposite direction.

bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala paongo* and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight *langanga* for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother, mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid. They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*. Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns, weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell, they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns. *Liongi*, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup) and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morning. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go to any present *matapule*.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
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554 621 differentiated from every other brother does not exist in fact in the village. But such rank is limited to the relative rank, strictly speaking, between two persons concerned, and is not the absolute rank of the triangle of hierarchy.

In my opinion, it looks both theoretically and practically impossible to integrate all the people of the community into the ramified structure for the following reasons:

554 621 586 587 593 (a) Generally, the union of a man and woman is not stable. It is not unusual for a man to have children by several women and for a woman to have children by several men. Consequently, an individual may have a number of half siblings who share the same mother and at the same time who share the same father. It must be difficult to integrate all the siblings of the community as a whole in one alignment from the highest to the lowest in accordance with the order of their birth.

554 621 602 (b) An individual often has a double relationship to another individual. For example, if 28 traces through his mother, the mother of 24 and 16 is his sister, but if 28 traces through his father, she is his father's sister's son's daughter (see Fig. 3). In this case he may probably behave towards her according to the direct relationship as brother and sister. But what is the criterion to integrate all the villagers in one hierarchy for they may have a double or triple relationship with one another?

554 621 593 607 (c) The sister is superior to the brother and her children to his children. Consequently, a man (A) who marries a woman rises automatically into a higher position than her brother (B). On the other hand A can not hold up his head before a man (C) who marries A's sister. Then in the relationship among these three men, C, is in the highest rank while B is in the lowest. But it may well be that B is the elder brother of C, or B's mother is C's father's sister. For these reasons it is difficult to stratify all the descendants of one person into a single ramified system.

554 593 Anyway, there are three principles in regard to ranking; the elder brother is higher than the younger brother; the sister is higher than the brother; and the husband is higher than the wife. These principles may sometimes offset each other. So each individual has a double rank; this one is higher than that, but this may be lower than that. Even if a person is the direct descendant in the senior line of a common ancestor, his rank is not always paramount. At the same time a descendant from a remote collateral is not necessarily the lowest. Leka occupies, in fact, the supreme position in the community. This seems to be so because he is *eiki* (chief) and *matapule* of the Queen, not because he belongs to the senior line of the kinship; he is the second son of his father Tevita Leka, whose first son may be an illegitimate son, and this first son's daughter's sons are 16 and 24.

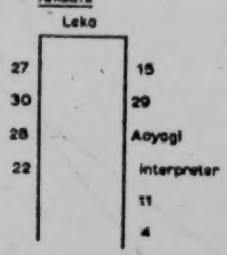
622 621 554 428 848

554 593 602 585 276 574 As described in the latter half of this paper, the relative rank of individuals is quite important in Tongan family. The behaviours of kin are precisely defined, and expressed overtly on the ceremonial occasions. In *kava* drinking at weddings, the first and the second cups were taken by particular persons, but no one remembers who got the subsequent cups.

This fact suggests partly that there is no system into which all the people who were gathering at the circle recognised.

While I was staying there, I happened to be invited to a feast at the end of the year given by the second son of Pualiki, at which most of the villagers were present. The following Fig. 6 is the table showing the seat arrangement. People took their seats around the long *pola* (food tray made of coconut leaves). Leka sat in the front of the *pola*, on either side of which the officers of the church sat down. The other people, I was told, might sit down freely anywhere. Among the ten persons, namely Leka and the church officers, 27 belongs to the Free Church of Tonga, 15 to the Mormons, 11 to the Catholic, and all the rest are the members

FIG.6 Seat-ordering at a fakaafe



of the Free Wesleyan Church. The speech at this feast was given by Leka, first, followed by 15 (*matapule* of the Queen), 1, Pualiki's wife, 30 (town officer) and 29. In spite of the fact that 11 is the elder brother of 15 and 15's *ulu i famili*, his seat is lower in the seat order than 15's. It is also incomprehensible why 11 who is a steward of the Catholic Church took such a low seat compared with the *malanga* of the other churches who were invited to the places of honour.[30] From 30 to 32 are all *malanga* of the Free Wesleyan Church who sat in order of the age. Whereas 29 is young, he is highly respected by people as a steward of the Free Wesleyan Church and always occupies a seat next to Leka in the meeting of church members.[31] In short, the internal rank of the villagers based on the kinship structure was not reflected in the feast at all, but the rank in the church such as *malanga* and *faifekau* was highly esteemed, and one's age or administrative or honourable status such as town officer or *matapule* were considered among those *malanga* and *faifefau*.[32] It is easy to see that the *malanga* of the church took the places of honour because this feast which was given as a church function was dedicated to God. Nevertheless, this was the only occasion in which an outsider could know the rank of the villagers.

30. Professor Newell suggested to me that the antagonism between Catholics and Protestants may explain this in part.
31. For instance, in *fakaafe* hosted by no. 28 on the day of Christmas nos. 6 (Leka), 5 and 30 (town officer) seated along one side of the pola in this order. On the other side of it no. 29 seated facing No. 6.
32. For example, in *fono*, village council, the villagers gather to sit choosing any place around the town officer who conveys the Government instruction.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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582 794 795 situation by presenting the certificate of civil registration of the marriage as a fait accompli.[10] Long-term refusal to have anything to do with the couple after this would almost certainly be viewed as too extreme. I was told of how one formidable old woman of the Free Wesleyan Church, incensed at her grand-daughter's announced intention to marry a Roman Catholic, tore off her clothes and rolled naked on the floor to express her anger and contempt. I saw no sign of these objections, however, in her present behavior towards her grand-daughter and little great-grandchildren (who are being raised as Roman Catholics).

In most situations of inter-denominational marriage, one member of the couple switches to the other's denomination. There were only four cases among couples living in Motulahi in 1970 where the husband and wife were not of the same denomination. (All involve marriages of long standing and/or older people; in each of these cases the woman is prominent in the community, although it is not clear to me whether this prominence is a cause or consequence of her denominational independence.) There is no

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[583] 10 It is my impression that there is a high proportion of elopement, nowadays--at least on the island of Tongatapu --even where the couple are of the same denomination; so much so that this cannot be regarded as merely deviant [585] behavior. By 'elopment' (mali hola) I refer to the practice of being married in secret; that is, with few or no close family members being present. All that is necessary is to register the marriage at the Public Records Office; no religious ceremony is required.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matamatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Spectators. The Indians are divided into two Parties, the Wrestlers go out from each Side one, two, or three as it happens. The Wrestling is generally introduced by the Boys of ab^{t} 6 or 7 years old, & is then taken up by older ones & so on till the old men themselves are at last engaged, tho' they seldom make their appearance till the boxing is introduced, where more Manhood & Skill is required. He who goes out first gives a formal Challenge to all round by laying the left Arm across the Breast & striking it hard with the right hand open, which gives a smart Sound; as he continues to do this he runs with a moderate pace up & down the Circle, and if no one comes out to answer the Challenge which is performed in the same manner, he continues it till he arrives at the place from whence he set out & then takes his seat, but it seldom happens that he does not meet with an Opponent; when they close they lay hold of each other by a platted Girdle which they put on for this purpose. In general the Contest is but short; when it is ended both the Victor and vanquished rise & pay their respects to Powlohow by sitting down before him cross legg'd & touching his feet with their Heads, after which they return to their respective Sides. He that is conquered retires silently, while the other as he goes off repeats the Challenge and is received by his Party with a Song of Triumph, which is repeated very loud in a kind of recitative; the Words are 'Too way Hey O mār tō yo ē',[1] the first word is sung by a single person & the rest in full Chorus by the Party to which the Conqueror belonged. A Continuance of the Exercise excites their Emulation & the young Men grow impatient for the lists, this sometimes brings on half a dozen matches at once, which when those who seemed to sit as Judges & Conductors of the Games perceived they put a stop to them by introducing the Boxing.

The first step taken in this Exercise is to bind the clenched fist with a small Chord so that it cannot be opened; this done, he who gives the Challenge goes out & with a kind of a half jump & half hop advances slowly & with a becoming Carriage from one end of the ring to the other, & instead of the form used to challenge at wrestling, he brandishes his fists, collects & dilates his body into several kinds of guards & attacks, which he continues till his antagonist shews himself at the other end of the Circle & advances to meet him, who comes on with the same parade and Gestures as the other; they loose no time, they just put themselves in a posture of defence and the attack

[1] *Tu'u ai he 'o mou tu e*, 'Stand up and shout hurrah', an expression still current at weddings and other festive gatherings. The lengthening and distortion of vowels in a shouted recitative would account for the peculiarities of Samwell's version.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

In aboriginal times, and this would be true for early-contacted Tonga as well as contemporary Tonga, informal *kava* sessions took place not only for general discussions, but also took place at various points in the life cycle. *Kava* ceremonies played an important part in celebrating births, weddings, and funerals. Aoyagi (1966:167-172) and Newell (1947:404) point this out for the twentieth century and as one nineteenth century non-missionary observer noted:

> Breakfasted at Thomas Wright's: heard there of the death of the chief Luaka: went to see the funeral ceremony. The cava rings were formed (Bays 1831:121).

His Royal Highness Tu'i Pelehake has pointed out that *kava* drinking provides "a seal on all occasions" whether they be formal gatherings or informal gatherings (1955:48). When a person of importance visited somewhere, a *kava* session was held to honor the individual. When the above mentioned Dumont D'Urville landed at Tongatapu in 1827 he reported:

> Soon after our arrival at the anchorage, a native came to present me with a great ceremony a green branch of kava (piper methysticum). Singleton [a European residing in the islands since 1806], whom I questioned about the reason for this gift, informed me that this branch had been sent to me by the old queen Tuoi-Tonga-Fafine, and that in doing so she did me a great honour. The branch put the ship under the protection of the gods of the country and would guarantee it against any misfortune. Consequently I received the sacred branch with respect and I had it planted in a spot within view of the ship, which seemed to please the natives who witnessed the ceremony (MS: 1a).

The presentation of the root was a prelude to an elaborate *kava* ceremony which the French navigator subsequently took part in and which served as a "seal of approval" for his visit.[4]

In addition to *kava* ceremonies being important in the particular life cycle of the individual, *kava* ceremonies also play an important role in the organization of Tongan society in general. *Kava* ceremonies took place when individuals received their titles in Tongan society or when they were stripped from their title for some reason. When an individual is installed into a chiefly position, the essence of the installation, as Collocott has accurately pointed out, "is the calling into his place into the *kava*-ring, to receive his cup by his new title" (1927:38).

In 1938, for example, His Majesty King Taufa'ahua Tupou IV (then the Crown Prince) took part in an elaborate *pongipongi* ceremony when he received the title of Tupouto'a:

> The Kava ceremony occupied two hours and was presided over by Queen Salote [Tupou III]. The [Crown] Prince was officially recognized as Tubouto'a and his position in respect of the *Kava* rings was confirmed when he drank a bowl of *kava* in his new name. . . . The *Kava* ring was composed of 150 Chiefs and Matabules (Masters of

597 young woman just starting or in the midst of her childbearing years. Or tama could also be a man with a young wife. The same would hold true for other dyads with cross-generation principals like 'BC'-'FZ'. Given the adoptees are usually less than two years of age it would not he expected that middle-aged or old women would be donating adoptees to adopting parents.

Concerning Conscious Models

121 Conscious models in general reflect patterns of behavior with varying degrees of accuracy. To illustrate this assertion, I will compare two conscious models--the Tongan model of marriage with the Tongan model of kinship reciprocity. The model of marriage or at least certain aspects of it are followed closely in terms of behavior. For instance, the marriage model contains these principles: Two people cannot marry if they are kinsmen; a marriage must be condoned by both the groom's parents and the bride's parents; the marriage must be legally recognized and given religious approval by the church. Some of these principles are disregarded under penalty of law, i.e., it is illegal for persons to live together as man and wife if they are kinsmen or if their marriage has not been registered by the government. Further punishment is provided by the fact that children born of an unregistered marriage are illegitimate and, therefore, ineligible to inherit.

183 582 581 (673) (684) (656) (848) (428)

585 582 626 183 If parents disapprove of the marriage or if the marriage is not recognized by the church, the couple probably would be subjected to strong social sanction in the form of gossip or even social ostracism

585 582 626 183 in some situations.

Failure to conform to the conscious model of marriage results in strong legal and social sanctions, and this is a good reason for a high degree of conformity between the marriage model and marriage behavior. 602 626 121 In contrast, the conscious model of kinship reciprocity is not enforced by strong sanctions. It seems that conscious models, of themselves, carry no power or authority over the behavior within their respective activity system, rather sanctions, if present, are imposed from without. Conscious models only tell how something ought to be done; they do not establish and administer the penalty for being wrong.

Some conscious models may not function to order empirical phenomena at all. Rather, they provide a conceptual scheme to which only ideas, and not "facts" an be related. Fit or conformity between a conscious model and behavior can, after all, be determined by observation from different perspectives and levels of reality. [602 829] My Tongan informants thought that exchange between kinsmen proceeded in the manner indicated by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Perhaps the Tongans with their understanding of their own culture are able to "see" that the conscious model is working regardless of the outcome of exchange. Perhaps the conscious model is only supposed to be followed in certain situations which were left unspecified and, therefore, unrecorded.

Possibly a productive way to view conscious models would be to consider them as single components of larger decision-making models. For instance, the Tongan activity system of exchange has a decision-making model which possibly includes the conscious model plus such variables as

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

remove them from the shells and set them alight. The flesh of several coconuts is added to the fire and an empty kerosene can with the lid removed is hung over the flames. Black soot collects in the can, and is later scraped out and mixed with the scraped bark of the *koka* tree to make a jet-black dye. 287 386

The garments made for weddings were in two parts; the blouse or upper covering being of *feta'aki*, and the loin cloth or lower robe of *gafigafi*. At both weddings and funerals a mat (*kie*) was made from *gafigafi* leaves which had been boiled and bleached in the sun. The *gafigafi* tree is now extinct in Tonga, and has been replaced by the *fa* tree. 292 585

For dances and native festivals, a dress was made by sewing together the leaves of the *kulutumu* tree and the *limu fonua*, the latter a kind of creeping moss. Both these plants are now rare in Tongatabu, but are found in abundance on the island of Eua. 292 294

NAMING THE CAPITAL OF TONGA

The capital of Tonga was known originally as Kolofoou, later changed to Nukualofa by the wish of King George Tubou I and his high chiefs. The name was probably taken from that of a rock which stands on the shore at Nukunuku, directly opposite the island of Feleave. The correct name of the rock is said to be Nuualofa, (The Land of Love). It is thought that Captain Cook used this idea in naming the whole group "The Friendly Islands," or "The Islands of Love" (Otu Aga Ofa). 103

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY

(A NATIVE ACCOUNT)

A man appointed to the rank of Muliki Haamea lived on a property at Mua, just by the property Tatakamotoga and Tugis property, Vatulova. As this chief Muliki Haamea was being escorted to Hihifo to be declared Tui Haamea, he was waylaid and murdered by the chiefs of the Hihifo district, on the beach road just opposite the village of Nukunuku, and his body was taken and left on the big rock called Nukualofa. His murderers then went to Hihifo and a man named Togalava heard of what had taken place; he was living at a village called Haateiho and he begged another young man to go with him to see if there was any truth in this story that he had just heard 173 425

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tupouto'a died in 1820 and was buried at 'Uiha, Ha'apai, close to the grave of Tupouniua whom he had murdered in 1807. Taufa'ahau was about twenty-three years old at the time of his father's death. No attempt was made to appoint him or anyone else as Tu'i Kanokupolu after Tupouto'a's death; so great was the unsettlement that the title temporarily lapsed. The only objection to Taufa'ahau was that he would be too energetic a ruler to please the rebels in Tongatapu who were led by the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the continuing core of opposition in Tongatapu to every Tu'i Kanokupolu in the previous twenty years. The Ha'a Havea chiefs, with their villages, were Ma'afu (Vaini), Lavaka (Pea), Vaea (Houma), Tu'ivakano (Nukunuku), Fielakepa (Havelu), and Fohe (Puke). The position of Tu'i Kanokupolu was left vacant until 1827, and sporadic fighting went on in Tongatapu. 175 643 669 622

Collocott, Gifford, and Latukefu, commenting on the events of these disturbed times, agree that, whether Taufa'ahau eventually became a Christian and whether he was disposed to induce others to become Christians or not, he would have been opposed always by the Ha'a Havea chiefs who were responsible also for the later wars of 1835, 1837, 1840, and 1852. When Tupouto'a was dying he told his son that, if he wished to rule all Tonga, he must defeat the Ha'a Havea chiefs. In 1827 the chiefs rejected forceful Taufa'ahau and elected Aleamotu'a, son of Mumui, younger brother of Tuku'aho (assassinated in 1799), and great-uncle of Taufa'ahau, as Tu'i Kanokupolu. This they did deliberately because they knew Aleamotu'a pusillanimous nature and expected that their arbitrary conduct would be unfettered by his nominal authority.

So confused were the years following the death of Tupouto'a in 1820 that there was no Tu'i Tonga also. Laufilitonga, who became Tu'i Tonga in 1827, was Taufa'ahau's rival in Ha'apai for influence over that group. He had cause to resent Taufa'ahau's masterful interference in preventing his sister from becoming Laufilitonga's principal wife. Laufilitonga's fort in Lifuka was Velata; Taufa'ahau's was Pangai. In the first encounter Laufilitonga proved stronger and Taufa'ahau retired to the south where he received reinforcements from the islands of Nomuka and Ha'afeva as well as some parts of Tongatapu. He returned to defeat Laufilitonga decisively and to capture Velata in 1826. In this fight Taufa'ahau was slightly wounded, this being noteworthy as the only occasion when this happened. He declared that he had called on the gods to defend his back but a warrior speared him from behind in the left calf, whereupon Taufa'ahau denounced the gods as impotent. After this victory in 1826 all Ha'apai accepted Taufa'ahau's rule, except those whom he put in canoes and told to go wherever they pleased, except to Tongatapu. They disobeyed and were welcomed by the Ha'a Havea chiefs in Tongatapu. Laufilitonga himself was in this party, but he desisted from open opposition to Taufa'ahau when he became Tu'i Tonga the following year, 1827. In 1833 Taufa'ahau completed his defiance of Laufilitonga by taking his bride, Lupe Pau'u, to whom he was married by the missionaries with Christian rites in 1834. [771] [797] [585]

In his pre-Christian days Taufa'ahau was wilful and violent. Gradually these characteristics were modified while his ability and energies became clearer and were more wisely directed. He is justly honoured as "The Maker of Modern Tonga". His long life spanned the whole of the critical period of its transition from disunity and unsettlement to its modern orderly position. He was the one mainly responsible for this. In his youth his physical strength, his athletic prowess, his natural courage, 175 643

89: Wood - M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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The missionaries regarded these seven men as "the first fruits of the Gospel" in Tonga.[25] A short catechism had been compiled a few weeks before this event, and the catechumens repeated the answers before the congregation at their baptism. On 29 March 1829 Aleamotu'a's wife, Moala, was baptized and named Mary. Four other women were baptized with her. 797 795

When children of parents already baptized were brought, Turner set apart those below eight years and treated those above eight as adults who entered a class for instruction. It was Turner's practice to baptize candidates by sprinkling as they knelt around the communion table. He gave them biblical names as well as agreeing to their retaining their Tongan names. Incidentally, John Williams, while commenting very favourably on Turner's work during his visit to Nuku'alofa in 1830, criticized the giving of biblical names. However, it became standard practice in the Tongan Wesleyan Church. It was also the custom for baptized persons to sit under and around the pulpit, apart from the rest of the congregation.

Eleven more were baptized on 9 April 1829 when the congregation numbered nearly 500, Turner reported. By April 1829 Turner had completed the first Scripture lessons, catechism, and some hymns, and had sent these to Sydney to be printed. He had also translated the marriage service from the Prayer Book, and on 3 May the first Christian wedding service was held. On 24 May there was the first Christian burial, for an old convert named Job, so named because of his patience in prolonged illness. On Whitsunday, 7 June 1829, the first Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in which Tongans participated was observed. There were twenty-six Tongan communicants. [794] 797 [585] [764] [788]

The District Meeting, on 23 June 1829, reported 31 full members, with 90 on trial. It asked the Committee for two additional missionaries, one with medical knowledge, the other with printing experience; and a printing press was requested.[26] [794]

By 25 June, William Cross had produced summaries of Old Testament and New Testament narratives, and had translated the Acts of the Apostles to chapter eleven — a remarkable feat in about eighteen months. Cross and Turner reported to the Committee that there were 495 in the schools and that [871] [212]

> "many of the people can read with fluency and write in such a way as would astonish you."

They added two significant comments:

> "The great and good work which the Lord is doing among us here is almost incredible to ourselves who are eye and ear witnesses to the facts. . . . And we enjoy perfect harmony among ourselves."

The "Lovefeast" was a treasured Wesleyan ordinance in which worshippers gave testimonies, and the first of these was held on 11 October 1829. About forty, including Aleamotu'a and his consort, spoke on this occasion.

At the District Meeting on 31 December 1829, is was decided that a man and woman living together should be married before they were baptized, and that candidates for baptism should meet "in class" for at least three months and, after baptism, spend three months "on trial" before full membership. The wise direction of the Chairman could be seen in these rules. It was also reported that there were 72 full members, with 23 others baptized but not yet full members, 123 others on trial, and that there were 478 scholars in four schools, at Nuku'alofa, Hofoa, Havelu, and Fanga.[27] [794] [795] [871]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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aroused as his own voice rose and there were audible and emphatic responses from the people. Once, when another local preacher declared, "The Gospel saved me. Did it save anyone else here?", the king instantly jumped to his feet and called out, "Glory to God, it saved me" — an indication of how demonstrative he was in avowing his faith in these early days.

The wife whom Taufa'ahau chose from those he had kept in a polygamous state was Lupe Pau'u, the bride he had taken from Laufilitonga who was now the Tu'i Tonga. Afterwards she took the name Salote when she was baptized on 27 September 1834 by James Watkin.[13] The name Salote was taken from Queen Charlotte, the consort of George III. Not only did the wife and a daughter of Taufa'ahau take this name but also the illustrious great-great-grand-daughter of Taufa'ahau, Queen Salote Tupou III (1900-65). The marriage of George and Charlotte according to Christian rites did not take place until 1834.[14]

After nearly two years in Ha'apai Thomas returned to Nuku'alofa to become Chairman of the District following the departure of Nathaniel Turner. He had now gained confidence through his success in Ha'apai. There was a ringing note of hope in his reports:—

> "We have good reason to believe that Tonga will be a key to very many islands in these seas. The Tongan people have been famous in the sight of the islands of these seas for ages past." (15)

The new missionaries, James Watkin and Peter Turner, continued to supervise the mass evangelization of the Ha'apai group, according to the model of their predecessor. Peter Turner in his Journal referred to the school at Lifuka beginning daily at 6 a.m. He described the baptisms, with sometimes as many as 100 received at one service. He noted the Tongans' fastidiousness about their appearance as seen in the care taken with special clothing for the baptismal service, the variety of patterns in the native cloth *(ngatu)*, and the neat plaiting of the mats worn around the waist. Then he added, "What joy beamed on the faces of the persons baptized".[16]

An unusual incident occurred at 'Uiha in June 1832. The schooner *Snapper* came to the group for trading. First it called at Lifuka where the owner, Robson, was given hospitality by the missionaries, Watkin and Turner, although he was very critical of missions. The crew of *Snapper* tried to entice women aboard and were annoyed with the missionaries when they failed. The vessel then went to 'Uiha, the only island in Ha'apai that had not then accepted Christianity; Taufa'ahau warned the captain not to go to 'Uiha but the owner said it would be easier to have trading dealings with the non-Christians there. A quarrel broke out when the owner endeavoured to procure a large pot used by whalers. The 'Uiha people had obtained it from a ship wrecked near Tongatapu about fifteen years before. While the argument about this deal was proceeding the chief Malupo was induced to go on board the *Snapper*. There he was bound, in order to force the people to come to terms and secure his release. The vessel threatened to sail off with the chief unless the pot was brought but it remained at anchor a short distance from the shore to do more trading. (It was noted afterwards by the Christian converts at Lifuka that all this was happening on the Sabbath!) The islanders attacked the crew when they were off their guard, killed the captain and two others, and released their chief. They then brought the ship nearer shore and began to plunder its cargo; the clothes of the owner and crew were taken from them. When news of this affray reached Lifuka, Taufa'ahau set out with a

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[1839-1840]

refused offers of peace. The assault on Nuku'alofa on a Sabbath in January 1837 was led by Lualala, the rebel chief from Vava'u; when Dillon had met Lualala in Lakeba, Fiji, he had promised to supply him with arms. Cargill also said that the supporters of Aleamotu'a had made Taufa'ahau their commander as Aleamotu'a was too old to lead them. He emphatically repudiated Dillon's charge that Taufa'ahau was a "satanic-like monster" and also declared that his former chairman, John Thomas, was in character the mildest of men.

After this it seems that no further reference was made to the tragedies of the 1837 war. The truce that was made that year was an uneasy one, but better feeling, on the whole, prevailed for nearly two years. On 14 May 1839, Taufa'ahau's only daughter, Salote, was married to a Christian chief, the Tu'i Pelehake, who had been in Fiji. All parties met amicably at Nuku'alofa for the wedding celebrations. The missionaries who officiated, Rabone and Tucker, recorded that the *Te Deum* was sung at the service in the chapel on Zion Hill.

• • • •

The regular work of the Mission proceeded in spite of the confusion in the islands. At the District Meeting on 10 August 1839, Tongatapu reported a membership of 1,208 (a substantial increase), Ha'apai 2,890, Vava'u 4,268. This meeting of 1839 was mortified by the loss of Samoa as a Wesleyan mission field, but it recommended as new fields the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Uvea, Futuna, Niue, and Rotuma (it had first recommended Rotuma in 1835). There was no lack of optimism with such a list! (60)

The disputes that continued in Tongatapu were complicated by factors neither political nor religious. This was particularly the case in Hihifo. Rabone, who left the Hihifo mission-house late in 1839 to live alongside Tucker in Nuku'alofa, wrote in December 1839:

> "At Hihifo heathen and Christians cannot agree. We do what we can to keep the Christians right but it is very difficult, inasmuch as their quarrels are principally of a family character." (61)

Rabone's journal of 22 January 1840 also showed the difficulty that the missionaries found in trying to restrain the war-like feelings of their own people who were nominal Christians of only a few years' standing:

> "It seems one of the most difficult things imaginable is to restrain these semi-savages from war when once commenced. in fact it would appear that many of them actually delight in these scenes of bloodshed; we talk, we write, we promise, we threaten, but the old disposition of the people breaks through all."

On 14 January 1840 Ata's followers left the Hihifo fortress and murdered four unsuspecting Christians working in their gardens. Aleamotu'a was visiting Hihifo at that time, trying to effect a complete reconciliation. It was regarded as unprecedented that an attack should take place while the king was making such a visit. A party of eighty men was sent from Nuku'alofa to bring the old king back safely. About the same time Ata besieged Fo'ui, the fort which the Christian minority in the district had built for their protection. (62)

As in 1837, Aleamotu'a sent a hurried message to Taufa'ahau seeking his help. He also gave Taufa'ahau a site in Nuku'alofa for his own fort; henceforth there were two forts for the two kings. Rabone recorded his fear that

> "the awfully sickening scenes of 1837 will in all probability be again exhibited, but we are for peace. O Lord, and we beseech Thee to give peace in our time." (63)

/66 cont./

585 581 The marriage was, of course, entered into only in accordance with ancient Tongan custom (festivity). The legal marriage (registration) and the church wedding may have contributed to a certain stabilization 583 585 178 565 of marriage. "Flight marriages" (that is, lovers who are of age marrying against the will of their parents by fleeing to another island in the Archipelago and registering their marriage there) which occasionally takes place today, probably did not occur in ancient Tonga in this form. For the commoners (190)

> 190. The great majority of commoners were farmers (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300).

[427] [571] were bound to the soil far more than they are today. They cultivated the land of the chiefs which the latter /67/ lent them against duties, and they were so greatly dependent on their masters that they were permitted under no circumstances to change from one territorial 565 585 178 581 jurisdiction to another. Working his individual land naturally gave the commoner more freedom. The far fewer economic burdens probably had a beneficial effect on family life, for they usually gave it a sounder basis.--From the preceding account and the figures given it [570] [611] [582] becomes clear that the family has remained predominantly patrilocal and patrilinear. The way of life of commoners in pre-European times suggests that the marriage partners came from the same locality even more than is the case today.

565 178 595 A considerable change took place in the family life of nobles. As a result of the Christianization of the Archipelago they gave up polygamy, apparently with littly resistance, and today they lead a married life resembling that of commoners. Monogamy is thus 593 839 practiced by all the people, at least outwardly. While wives are mostly faithful to their husbands, many husbands take the liberty of [178] having affairs with other girls or women. This is apparently an

/68 cont./

581 longer as easy as it formerly was. (194)
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586
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194. According to Mariner, a divorce by the husband occurred "with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go..." /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 173.)

587 Nevertheless, many a nonchalant Tongan thinks nothing of leaving his
586 spouse and establishing himself in another household in the village, in order to enter another marriage without being in a hurry about legal divorce with its attendant costs.

585 The number of married persons is larger today than it was in
162 pre-European times, if the statements of the generally quite reliable
178 Mariner are correct. (195)

195. Mariner says one-third of the women are unmarried (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168.)

592 There is no reason to doubt that in the past the household of the
565 majority of commoners working as farmers consisted of approximately
178 the same number of persons as today. (196)

[589]
[463]

196. The unmarried women lived mainly as servants on the properties of the chiefs (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168), just as male commoners were used as cooks and humble workmen (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

[597] Certain numerical differences could only have come about through the adoption of children, in case this was as common as Gifford assumes. (197)

197. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 26; compare with this the numbers given above of today's adopted children.

592 The rather impressive household of nobles resulting from polygamy and
565 numerous servants has, however, with few exceptions, been reduced to the general standard (of commoners).

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed, to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177 178 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure (797) of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the (595) missionaries who were the most important representatives of (592) European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan (585) marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the (423) church wedding, (203) (642)

203. Including registration with public authorities. and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization, 177 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/ 797 innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance, family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries, created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even (581) the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward marriage. (204)

(837) 204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

/77 cont./

584 574 604 especially if the girl's family do not wish her to change her mind If the outcome is positive, the two paternal uncles decide on the date of the wedding.

In any case, the consent of the girl is essential. This is probably similar to conditions in ancient Tonga, for Mariner reports that the majority of women married of their own free will. (221)

221. That is to say, those who, in his opinion, did not belong to the group of women two-thirds of whom/one-third? see footnote 216 F. S./ were betrothed in early childhood to men of higher rank (J. Martin, loc cit. II. p. 167).

584 Until the wedding, the bridegroom then mostly visits his bride every evening while her parents are asleep, and chats with her, especially about the forthcoming festivity Nothing else happens. However, it may also come about that the partners marry without ever having talked together previously (the older custom?). In some cases [574] the father of the bridegroom sends food and kava every evening until [431] the wedding day to the girl's place (for her and her parents); the [276] bridegroom and his relatives go there, drink kava, chat and sing (and dance).

585 292 On the day of the wedding, the bridegroom dons his best vala and his best shirt, in addition to several ta'o-vala (of the finest quality: the kie Tonga), (222)

222. Compare p. 310-312.

hangs one or two sisi kakala (223)

223. Compare p. 82-84.

around his shoulders and fetches his bride, who is wearing a particularly fine dress and likewise some three kie Tonga and sisi kakala, from her place in order to go with her to the registrar (or to ride if the latter is in another village or on another island) where the official marriage certificate is drawn up Several /78/ relatives

585 602 A A [See footnote 216 on p. 108--Analyst]

/78 cont./

585 [602] [252] [593] (up to 20 or 30 if they go by boat) accompany the couple. Meanwhile (or on the following day) the parents (especially the father) of the bridegroom (also sometimes the bride's parents) along with the rest of the relatives make a huge earth oven with large pigs, yams, taro etc.

[602] [565] [184] After the civil marriage the couple, again accompanied by their relatives, go to church. The wedding celebrations of all classes and religious faiths of Tonga are similar; only the church wedding ceremony, of course, differs among the individual denomination.

585 292 The bride is then again escorted to her paternal home in order to dress for the actual wedding celebration which now begins. The bridegroom too goes to his place for this purpose. Their festive garments are more or less elaborate, according to their means. A very well-to-do bride, for example, is wrapped in a finely plaited, soft fihu-mat several meters long, which covers her body from breasts to knees (so that only the brassiere straps are visible). Over this are wrapped several (up to about ten) fine Samoa mats or kie Tonga, so that the bride can move only with her arms held almost horizontally. [302] [301] Her body is lavishly rubbed with Tonga oil; she wears a flower or a ribbon in her hair and perhaps also sisi kakala around her shoulders and waist. The bridegroom is dressed like the bride. Sometimes, in addition, he wears a (silk) shirt. Both of them are barefoot and without a head covering. Such wedding garb is what is aspired to, but not always achieved. Because of little domestic diligence (in part the loss of ancient skills) or a certain "poverty" resulting from special circumstances, there are simpler wedding garments (fewer and coarser mats), which in extreme cases may consist of only one mat and one tapa vala (worn by the girl with her blouse or dress, by the man with his shirt and possibly with the cloth vala). A

/78 cont./

585 292 199 "European wedding," that is to say, one in European wedding dress, (224)

224. Namely. long white dress, veil and shoes for the bride, white suit and shoes for the bridegroom (with a flower in his buttonhole); often with flower girls and an English wedding cake.

is rare, even in the seaports. This type of wedding is arranged either because people want to imitate the example of whites or for the simple reason that they are not in a position to be extravagant with traditional Tongan things (mats), and the European wedding finery is perhaps more easily obtainable; both reasons may also come together.

585 602 The bridegroom with his relatives now fetches his bride and her relatives from her house and leads her to his place. /79/ Close relatives of the bridal couple (especially the respective tu'a-sina [see above]) follow the bridegroom and bride in this procession, carrying the wedding baskets (kato alu; see p. 317), in which lie a European bottle with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga), a head rest (kali) and other personal articles, each on a ta'o-vala (225)

225. See page 308.

585 198 184 This custom is, however, becoming rather infrequent nowadays. In a town like Fungamisi (neighboring village of the seaport Neiafu/Vava'u) a kato uli is no longer seen at any wedding, and in a village like 'Uiha (on the more remote island of 'Uiha) only a few weddings take place with a wedding basket, whereas in Felemea, situated on the same island, one may see the kato alu being used more often, and even Tongans who normally use a European pillow for sleeping, have a headrest carried behind them at their wedding.

585 574 554 At the bridegroom's place a long roofing of plaited coconut palm twigs (also often of corrugated iron) is erected, underneath

/79 cont./

585 574 [554] which all the guests seat themselves along with the couple who occupy the place of honor, namely the chieftain's place. Even at a simple wedding there may be 80 persons assembled. It is now three or four 585 574 296 o'clock in the afternoon. Kava is prepared, (226)

226. See page 144ff.

and the bride, as the principal person, is given the most honorable, third cup, even if it is a wedding of commoners and a chief is present as a guest. In this kava circle the bride and bridegroom sit on the [604] laps of their respective maternal uncles (tu'a-sina). Following this, 585 574 431 the mats and tapa brought as gifts by the two kinship groups are distributed, after the bridal couple have received their share, and the contents of the earth oven (or ovens, see above) are distributed among the relatives of the bride and groom. This food is not immediately eaten (or only part of it) while most of it (227)

227. Sometimes a regular meal is eaten.

585 is taken home. The bride also goes to her paternal home along with her relatives, while the bridegroom remains behind.

It is only on the following evening, or even after two or three [177] days, that the bride returns with her relatives; her mother or her mother's brother (tu'a-sina) carries her bed (mats, (228)

228. They consist chiefly of the fala paongo, fala tutu'ila, fala fihu.

tapa and usually a European sheet and pillow) into the house of the [574] bridegroom. The relatives (229)

[296] [602] [178]

229. According to the original custom, only older women who acted as witnesses; today, however, a rather large circle of individuals of both sexes.

of both sides gather together in a kava circle which lasts into the night, amid talking and singing: they are waiting for the marriage to be consummated. The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is

/79 cont./ The next morning, the sheet (or tapa) is
585 examined and if it is /80/ stained with blood they fire a shot of joy
[202] with an old shotgun, or in some other way make known their pleasure that the bride's virginity has been proved. The sheet (or the sleep-tapa) is publicly displayed and then carried from the bridegroom's place to the place of the bride's mother. The contents of an immediately prepared earth oven, in addition to mats and tapa, are brought by the kinfolk of the young man to the family of the young wife--in recognition of the fact that her mother had carefully watched
[602] over her daughter. The young wife is kept on her sleeping place, is bathed by her relatives, combed and adorned, lovingly treated like a sick person and nursed with good food.--If the wished-for sign does not appear on the sheet, nothing happens the next morning. The young wife is then obliged to perform ordinary, everyday work, that is, rake leaves, cook, wash, etc. The villagers see this and know what has happened. (230)

230. A few Tongan maintain that for this reason "smart" girls who are no longer virgins arrange the date of their wedding (that is, the consummation of the marriage) to coincide with the days of their menstruation.

585 The last part of the wedding, however, is no longer common in
178 this form. Often the marriage is consummated the first night after the wedding, and many times the stained sheet is no longer displayed. Various Tongans who have some knowledge of European conditions reject this custom as being "low," barbaric.

[177] A few couples have recently also imitated the European example of the honeymoon by traveling to a small island after the wedding celebration.

585 On the whole, a great deal of ancient Tongan tradition has been
177 preserved in the wedding procedure. Indeed, the tradition seems to
178 the observer to be the essential, decisive element to which the civil

/80 cont./

585 and ecclesiastical ceremonies were simply added, just as other
177 European characteristics (for example, the large canisters of
178 zwieback which today are so important) were adopted as a matter of
585 course, so that everything has undergone an amicable fusion. The
565 upper classes (231)
178

231. These very probably practiced all such customs even in olden times more extensively and conscientiously than did the broad masses.

--up to the royal house--cling more tenaciously than the commoners to the old wedding customs (with respect to clothing as well as the
585 punctiliously preserved ceremony). Probably the lavish use of Tongan
565 apparel seen at many weddings of commoners is not to be interpreted as
292 tradition handed down from olden times, since the broad masses were
178 formerly obliged to work for the nobles; (232)

[422]

232. Compare J. Martin (loc. cit. II. p. 109) on the women of the lower classes in ancient Tonga: "...what they make is not their own property, but is done by order of their superiors." /cited in English/

rather, most of the people probably /81/ gradually came into possession of valuable mats and long lengths of tapa only after their "liberation," in respectful but purposive imitation of upper-class customs.

585 Today, among commoners, it may also come about that young couples
583 --with the silent approval of their parents--stage a "flight marriage,"
178 that is to say, run away and have a civil and church marriage. This saves the parents the economic burden of the wedding celebration.
585 That, along with the rather frequent abolishing at the regular
178 marriage of the delayed consummation, (233)

[565]

233. According to E.W. Gifford (Tongan Society, p. 193), the marriage among commoners was in former times consummated during the first

/81 cont./

585 178 (565)

night, so that today among commoners it could be only a matter of a recessive movement toward a more recent custom borrowed from nobles.

as also the partial abandonment of the custom of publicly demonstrating the /bride's/ virginity (in addition to a certain simplification of the Tongan wedding costume and the gradual disappearance of the wedding baskets) could be indications of advancing change, though the tenacious adherence to the rest of the ceremony and to the typical wedding dress shows that the "Tongan wedding" may hold its own for a long time to come.

Birth

657 743 844 (744) Though there is growing interest in the motorized infant welfare service (under the leadership of a white nurse) among the population on Tongatapu, and some mothers and mothers-to-be on Vava'u and Lifuka are seeking the advice of the hospitals there, the birth itself and infant care are still purely a family affair throughout the entire Archipelago. Most of the Tongan women who go to the large hospital in Nuku'alofa/Tonatapu immediately when their first labor pains begin, come from this seaport itself. Otherwise, people generally do not consider the hospital unless there are complications, and the woman in labor reaches it-- often lying in an old truck--only after a great loss of blood.

743 844

844 As a rule, therefore, birth takes place in the traditional manner in the living (sleeping) house where a section is arranged for the mother-to-be and a small bed is prepared (234)

234. For example, a small mat and tapa with a soft covering, for instance raw tapa (feta'aki) or a small cloth mattress with kapok filling.

for the expected child. When the labor pains of the pregnant woman announce the impending birth, she asks her husband to call the ma'uli (the Tongan midwife).

(759)

/90 cont./

used only for the upper classes (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201).

On the other hand, the relaxing of old customs (for example, the noise taboo and "pongi pongi" could indicate coming changes which might bring about a loss of important old traditions and provide no adequate substitute.

c) Names

For several decades Europeans in authority have made an effort to introduce patrilineal family names in Tonga. Up to now, however, they have had little success. Even though, in colleges, for example, students are registered under their patrilineal family names, and public authorities are making a great effort to clarify matters, if only for tax purposes, nevertheless there is still great confusion in eyes of Europeans who are fond of order. Few families have genuine surnames, and even these are not always handed down. In some cases people also change their names on various occasions in the course of their lives. In general nowadays, every Tongan probably has two names, one of which is often a Christian name; however, in most cases only one is used, so that a person's second name is known to only a few. As a rule, at her marriage, a woman is given one of the /91/ two names of her husband. In the further development of the newly founded family the following picture may emerge:

/101 cont./

men /102/ mend their large fish net or if a group is carrying out a building project, kava is served. Especially on the occasion of a major undertaking, such as the building of a new house, there is always a group of older Tongans present who do not join in but, united in a kava circle, sanction the work through their presence in this form. (283)

283. Also in construction work of a European nature (for example, building a cement tank for drinking water, making concrete blocks for a church building) this custom is observed.

Naturally, there is also no Tongan festival possible without kava. It belongs to a wedding as well as a funeral, and it is served at all other festive occasions--generally before the meal.

Very probably the role of kava in the social life of the village, compared with its significance in old times, has not diminished, but actually increased. For this too an important reason may be the greater freedom and independence today of the mass of the people, the commoners. The old custom of kava drinking is so deeply rooted in Tongan life that neither European influences of the past nor those of the present have been able to displace it or even diminish it. Alcohol, to be sure, is very difficult to obtain for the Tongans, (284)

284. Only with a permit from the police minister or by the dangerous way of the black market or non-licensed brewing.

but even easily available beverages such as tea, coffee, cocoa and lemonade have not in the least displaced kava. It, along with the typical wooden bowl and the coconut cups today form a seemingly indestructable cultural asset. The large ceremonial kava gatherings of chiefs which Mariner reports (285)

285. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 184 ff.

have today been simplified--in accordance with the gradual decrease of power of the nobles--though they have not disappeared.

/206 cont./

285 species (see papa).

fala paongo:

[513] This the natives prefer to use as the inner mat layer of a complete bed. It is also used separately as a sleeping mat, and [352] when it gets old it is often used as a floor mat. The fala tofua [431] is further used in gift-giving, and in burial, to lay the corpse to [764] rest. It varies in size with an average measurement of about 1.90 x 1.20 meters.

[824] The mat is plaited of the leaf strips of the lou paongo species; these are prepared as for the papa (see above), but are cut much [531] narrower. The fala paongo are not specially ornamented.

fala tofua:

[513] This is the most important sleeping mat and is used by men, women and children. As part of a complete bed it serves as the uppermost [431] layer of mats. It a favored wedding gift, and at a burial the corpse [585] is laid to rest on it. [764]

Like the lo taha (see above) the mat is plaited of leaf strips [824] of the lou tofua species; however, the strips of the former are used double, whereas for the latter they are worked in singly. Leaf strips of the lou paongo species (see papa) are used as the favored ornamentation.

4. Belt Mats

285 291 ta'o-vala tofua:

This belt mat--like all the others--differs from the sleeping mats in that the plaiting is considerably finer and smaller in size. [554] /207/ It is the most commonly used of these symbols of respect and rank, (534)

534. See p. 69-71.

[824] and is worn especially by men, but also by women. The ta'o-vala

/207 cont./

285 a few days (about seven), desalt them in fresh water, dry them for
[824] three or four days in the sun and roll them up again. Before plaiting them the natives stretch these upper skins of the leaves, make them pliable and divide them into narrow strips.

Sometimes the natives smoke-dry this belt mat to make it somewhat darker (that is, yellowish brown). Nowadays, they also sometimes interweave it with lou kie strips that have been dyed with multi-
[531] [177] [386] colored, artificial European dyes.

ta'o-vala kie-kie:

The ta'o-vala kie-kie is very probably a "new discovery" that is
[291] no more than two decades old. This is not so much a mat as a plaited belt with pendant strips that are plaited in the same way. Men and women wear it like the ta'o-vala tofua.

[824] They plait the ta'o-vala kie-kie out of leaf strips of the lou
[531] tofua variety of pandanus (see above under lo taha) and ornament it with interwoven black-dyed (see above under lo taha) leaf strips of the same species.

/208/ 5. Display Mats

fala fihu:

285 The fala fihu is a valuable mat which is generally not used by
565 commoners, but is stored away and dept for a special purpose. It is
[431] given by a relative or close friend on the occasion of a wedding; a
[585] girl will give it to the man she loves, and a young man will also ask his sister for a fala fihu to give to a male of female friend as
[585] a special token of affection. At her wedding, a very well-to-do
[292] bride is wrapped in such a mat (but usually of a larger variety known
[764] as "fihu"), and at a burial the corpse is sometimes covered with it.
[513] The daughter of a high-ranking man also sleeps on such a mat.

285 The fala fihu is made from the pandanus species lou kie (see
824 above under ta'o -vala kie).

/208 cont./

above under ta'o-vala kie).

kie Tonga:

This likewise very valuable mat, today the most finely plaited in Tonga, is popularly worn by bride and bridegroom at their wedding and also occasionally as a ta'o-vala at important church services and festivities. A commoner will not wear it when he visits a headman (in order not to elevate himself), but the nobles themselves may wear it at all times. In the various villages only a few natives own such kie Tonga. Even today, as in the past, (536)

536. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 162.

such mats are bought from Samoa where they are made even better and more exquisitely; however, the difficulties involved in procuring these in particular are too great to make possible a general distribution in the Archipelago.

The material for these mats is also the lou kie species of pandanus (see above).

6. Various Mats

pola:

By "pola" the Tongan means the coarsely woven halved coconut palm leaves of specific (rectangular) shapes that are plaited for various purposes. They are used for the many sections of walls and roofs of ancient Tongan style dwellings, as well as for the "mat doors" put together out of several pola. The coconut leaf mattings (pola kai) (537)

537. Two joined, coarsely plaited halves of coconut palm leaves.

on which festive meals are served should also be mentioned here.

fala tuki kava:

This special mat serves as a pad on which the kava roots are

/211 cont./

285 (824) (531) and from narrow pandanus-leaf strips of the lou tofua species (see above) in a spiral coil technique. "Geometric" patterns are worked in with black dyed (see above) lou tofua strips and natural colored lou paongo strips.

/212/

kato lou kie:

(482) This small pouch with a handle is used to hold money, tobacco, matches, etc. It is carried only by women and girls who like to take it along when they go shopping.

The kato lou kie is plaited by women and girls from pandanus strips (upper skin) of the lou kie species, (555)

555. See ta'o-vala kie, p. 309-310.

some of which are dyed with European colors.

kato alu:

(585) The kato alu is a "wedding basket" for a wedding of some importance in ancient Tongan style (556)

556. See p. 114-116

There are two shapes: a smaller, oval one for the bridegroom and a larger, round one which was originally intended for the bride.

(462) (824) These baskets, which are made only by women, are plaited with the separated midribs of the pinnate leaflets of the coconut palm and the split leaf ribs of the creeper alu. They are dyed with a (386) mixture of the soot of burned Aleurites and the sap of the koka tree (Bischofia javanica [flower]). With thin strings twisted from the (283) (237) bast of the paper mulberry tree, small rings cut out of shells (or snail shells [pule] with coconut fiber strings) are fastened to the (283) (237) outer surface of the basket. The carrying cord is plaited out of women's hair.

285 177 178 From the foregoing list of the most important types of baskets we may conclude that the natives expend considerable time, effort and

000 /305 cont./

T F 515 179 especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.

T F 302 179 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion, and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing

T F 291 179 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the

T F 304 178 Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

T F 581 179 799 In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago

T F 593 604 178 under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother" survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more

T F 601 drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have

T F 585 849 964 199 178 kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show

/305 cont./
much inherited tradition and of mixing of old and new (especially with regard to nuptials) which the present generation takes for granted. In Fiji too there is a sort of "flight marriage" whose purpose is to avoid the great expense of a regular /306/ wedding; the number of those who circumvent the traditional wedding seems to be larger on these islands than in the other Archipelago.

While in Tonga a change in the type of settlement can be noted, with commoners formerly living as separate families on the land of chiefs, we find in Fiji a continuation of what has long been the customary type of village settlements, though with the qualification that now the villages seldom have the kind of simple structure in which the larger kinship groups of yavusa were the /settlement's/ sole inhabitants.

The old community -oriented system, continues in Fiji to a large extent; this is evident not only in the claim of common land ownership and the traditional carrying-out of community projects, but particularly in the fact that the transfer of private property to fellow villagers solely at their request and without direct return service seems to be practiced on these Islands no less than in Tonga, even though it is officially discouraged. As a result of their encounter with fundamentally different types of culture and under a certain economic pressure, some Fijians have separated themselves from the village community and have found work in trade or industry, or they have established independent farming enterprises (with government support); however, they have remained in the minority, and most of them find it very difficult to break with the old community life and its customs. This development, which is scarcely to be noted in Tonga and only to a slight extent in Samoa, nevertheless represents a certain danger to the continuation of the traditional social order.

With regard to social stratification it is to be noted that on